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TOYNBEE HALL

AND THE

ENGLISH SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT

TOYNBEE HALL

AND THE

ENGLISH SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT

BY

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REVISED EDITION

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

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TO
THE MEMORY
OF
ARNOLD TOYNBEE

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KENNEDY

INTRODUCTION

THE IDEA OF THE SETTLEMENT

A SETTLEMENT is a colony of members of the upper classes, formed in a poor neighbourhood, with the double purpose of getting to know the local conditions of life from personal observation, and of helping where help is needed.¹ The settler gives up the comfort of a West End home, and becomes a friend of the poor. He sacrifices to them his hours of leisure, and fills his imagination with pictures of misery and crime, instead of with impressions of beauty and happiness. For a shorter or longer time the slum becomes his home. Only seldom does he show himself at his Club, at the theatre, in Society. This means the loosening of social and personal ties, in many cases the foregoing of the prospect of an early marriage, and neglect of favourite pursuits. It means a sacrifice of life. It means that love of mankind has thrown an existence off its accustomed lines, that habitual forms of conventional thought have been burnt up in the fire of a great passion, and that the image of the man, usually obscured by prejudices and conventions, emerges beyond all differences of birth and breeding. The settler comes to the poor as man to man, in the conviction that it means a misfortune for all parties and a danger for the nation, if the different classes live

¹ In contrast to this the "Neighbourhood Guilds", which Stanton Coit founded in England and America, are organisations which embrace the entire population of poor "Neighbourhoods", and have therefore in their conception nothing to do with the Settlements here described.

in complete isolation of thought and environment. He comes to bridge the gulf between the classes. He has lost confidence in legislative and administrative measures which would solve the social problem academically, and he hates the established forms of a charity which humbles instead of elevating, and demoralises instead of improving. He mistrusts dead organisations, and would replace them by personal relationships. Not as an official but as a friend does he approach the poor, and he knows that he is thereby not only the giver but the receiver. Life instead of machinery, exact knowledge of the conditions to be improved, in the midst of which he must place himself instead of trusting to an unreliable judgment from a bird's-eye view—this is his motto.

In the following pages the attempt is made to represent in its evolution and its significance a Movement which has arisen out of these impulses and ideas—the English Settlement Movement. Resting as it does on such a broad, purely human basis, it could not be tied down to any detailed programme. Crystallisation would have meant in this instance, more even than in any other, immediate death, and denial of its most characteristic ideals. Therefore it follows that the limits of the Movement are difficult to define.

Already in the seventies, that is to say ten years before the foundation of the first Settlement, the social interest awakening in the old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge expressed itself in the establishment of Missions in the poor districts of London. Here the clergy, partly through overwork, partly through lack of interest in and understanding of the special task which fell to their lot among the lowest grades of the population of a great City, showed themselves unable to cope with the difficulties to be surmounted.

Canon Barnett sketched as follows the starting and the work of such a Mission: "These Missions are

generally inaugurated by a visit to a College from some well-known clergyman working in the East End of London, or some such working-class quarter. He speaks to the undergraduates of the condition of the poor, and he rouses their sympathy. A committee is appointed, subscriptions are promised, and after some negotiations, a young clergyman, a former member of the College, is appointed as a Mission Curate of a district. He at once sets in motion the usual parochial machinery of district visiting, Mothers' Meetings, Clubs, etc. He invites the assistance of those of his old mates who will help; at regular intervals he makes a report of his progress, and if all goes well, he is at last able to tell how the district has become a Parish".¹

Canon Barnett, the founder of the oldest Settlement, Toynbee Hall, would oppose the Settlements to the Missions, and repeatedly emphasised and attempted to explain this contrast. Thus he said in an article, "Settlements or Missions",² written in 1897: "The two are indeed distinct efforts which differ in idea, in organisation, and in methods of work, and agree only in their object, which is to serve the welfare of mankind". And later:—

"A Mission has for its aim conversion.

"A Settlement has for its aim mutual acquaintance.

"A Mission creates organisations, institutions and machinery.

"A Settlement works through personal influence and strives for human touch".

Such a distinction was justified when in 1883 the Missions of that time had to be confronted with a new

¹ Taken from an address given in November 1883 in St. John's College, Oxford. Cf. *Practicable Socialism*, by Samuel and Henrietta Barnett. Revised and enlarged edition, London, 1895, p. 167.

² *Towards Social Reform*, by Canon and Mrs. S. A. Barnett, London, 1909, p. 271 et seq.

ideal, but it does not apply to the present conditions, and obstinate adherence to it can only be explained on the ground of propagandism. The Settlements did not become what Canon Barnett wished to make them (Toynbee Hall forms to-day almost an exception), and on the other hand the Missions have in many cases so closely approached the Settlements that a clear dividing line between them is no longer possible. This can easily be understood from the nature of things. An experienced Settlement-Worker once said to me: "There is a difference of standpoint in the Settlements and Missions with regard to body and soul when they begin their work, but after ten years this has vanished". If a Mission limits its circle of work to the one aim of winning a district for the Church, and deprives itself of the co-operation of the laity, then indeed it cuts itself off from possibilities of evolution. But this is certainly no longer the rule to-day. Realise the difference in the position of a clergyman in the slum and the Head of a Mission.

This may be explained somewhat as follows. A living becomes vacant, and is given to any available clergyman who frequently has neither interest in nor inclination for grappling with the problem of poverty. The state of things to-day is much better than formerly, but still there are incumbents in poor districts who for the greater part of the year do not even live in their parishes. Even in the case of an ideal personality, how much time is taken up by the daily routine of baptizing, marrying, burying, and preaching. And, moreover, he has the duty of keeping together the already greatly decreased numbers of his congregation. After the work of teaching no time remains for that of healing.

It is altogether the reverse in the case of the Missioner. The College or Public School (for we are specially dealing with College and School Missions) will choose from the smaller field of its students only a personality specially

suited to the work. He has to build from below upwards ; and even if he comes with the sole intention of winning a province for the Church of Christ, of leading the unhappy to a Faith in which he sees redemption, yet it remains his first task to get at the people and to win their confidence. He collects round him a crowd of boys from the streets and opens a Club. What is he to do with them ? To preach or to pray is the surest way of driving them away again. He sees himself thus compelled to follow their inclinations, to make himself acquainted with their horizon, their sorrows and joys, in short with their whole life. If he is at all suited for his post, he learns thereby to love them. This warm human sympathy now constitutes for him the whole basis of his activity. He shares the destinies of these young folks, cares for them, can no longer stop short at their souls, since he has taken them to his heart. He develops their athletic side, and goes with them into the open air that they may become fresher and healthier. He endeavours to get an insight into the family life of the parents in order to find out if and why they cannot give their child more to eat, and thus the whole Housing Problem is unfolded before him. He begins to interest himself in the Poor Laws, Labour Exchanges, and many other things which lay far away from his original ideas of a Mission. He forms his opinion as to the work of these Institutions, and therewith the wish arises to make it known in the right quarters. He feels at last that his task is getting beyond him, and turns to his College for help, declaring that his work is very promising, but that he is breaking down under it, while each day brings new tasks of every possible kind. He reports that not only clergy, but still more, laity are needed for the varieties of a social work which has room for all kinds of characters and gifts, and that the College ought to hire a house in his district and supply him with a staff of fellow-workers.

Thus arises, as if by a necessity of nature, out of the Mission a Settlement, or at least an Institution closely resembling the avowedly religious Settlements, and these are by far the majority. For "Conversion" has long since retired into the background in favour of the human need which cries to Heaven. The Missioner, of course, is still convinced that an intense religious life is the strongest help in the struggle for existence, and that he has given his friends in the slum the best thing possible if he has succeeded in helping them towards it. But he has grasped the fact that an effort in this direction must not be obtrusive, and must only be the natural outcome of a friendly relationship which embraces the whole of life.

He has given up the confident attitude of the priest; experience has made a learner of the man who came to teach. As to the methods of work—Clubs, Classes, Lectures, Debates, Boy Scouts, Boys' Brigades, etc. etc.,—these are for the most part the same that are employed in the Settlements. Thus the differentiations of Canon Barnett have, in the numerous cases similar to the one quoted, no justification.

It is easy to furnish evidence for what has been said.

The Head of Rugby School Home Mission in London writes to me: "Nominally the members of our club belong to all three Churches—there are Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Nonconformists among them. In a few cases adherence exists in deed and not only in name. To make proselytes would be the last thing we should think of. I should call it downright wickedness". They work as need arises amongst members of all denominations, without any idea of winning converts to their own Church.

Mr. Stead, the Head of Browning Hall Settlement which has an avowedly religious character without identifying itself with any Church, asserted to me that

this distinction between a Mission and a Settlement cannot be upheld.

Cambridge House in South London, which is always reckoned as a Settlement, grew out of Trinity Mission. At first a colony of laymen attached itself to it (1890), and this grew at length (1896) into the present Settlement, which forms the centre of the South London Missions supported by Cambridge. Its Head writes to me that the principles in Mission and Settlement are the same, with the exception of those Missions which are of an almost exclusively religious character.

Glasgow University Students' Settlement affords a further proof of the statement. It has undoubtedly a Settlement character, indeed its Head expressly protests against its being a Mission, and yet did not hesitate in 1895 to undertake the whole work of the University Missionary Society when it was transferred to another quarter of the town.

Another instance is the Oxford and Bermondsey Mission in London, which is always looked upon as a Settlement, and in fact is entered in Toynbee Hall on the list of the greater London Settlements.

This may suffice to prove that a differentiation is untenable which does violence to facts; and it has therefore been given up in the present volume. The Mission with a resident staff of laymen who have settled in the Mission House or its immediate neighbourhood is reckoned as a Settlement.

The Institutional Churches are excepted, the most important in London being "Claremont" and "The Whitefield Tabernacle". Their existence is accounted for by the energetic efforts of the Church to adapt itself to the needs of the proletariat of a great city. They are Churches round which a number of Clubs for men, women and children have been built, and to which a dwelling-place for helpers, that is to say a kind of Settlement, is

casually added because it is needed. But the Church is and remains the centre ; and in the fact that the whole thing is practically nothing but an annexe of the Church, lies the reason why the institutional Church is omitted here. We do not overlook the fact that they have a considerable affinity with those Settlements which place their residents at the disposal of the Parish Priest,¹ though still retaining a certain amount of the individual life of the Settlement.

This limits the sphere of this work so far as it is confined to the Settlement Movement. Beyond that the attempt is made, especially in the passages dealing with the University Extension Movement, and the Workers' Educational Association, to show the place it holds in connection with the larger question of the education of the English people to democracy.

¹ For instance, the "Women Workers' Settlement", Belfast, and all Roman Catholic Settlements for Women.

PART I

THE ORIGIN OF THE SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT AND THE FOUNDING OF TOYNBEE HALL

THE Settlement Movement is the natural outcome of Social Idealism, the intellectual movement at the head of which stood Carlyle and Ruskin. In their train of thought there lay the germ of the Settlement Idea,¹ and it was put into practice as soon as the influence of these men had reached far enough.

With an earnestness and a conviction of their mission which reminds one of the old Prophets of Israel, they sought to wake the conscience of the nation. Their Gospel of repentance would again bring men to understand that

¹ The idea of founding a Settlement had already been discussed in Ruskin's circle; cf. an article by Rev. Brooke Lambert in *The Contemporary Review*, September 1884. He writes: "Fifteen years or so ago, when Edward Denison lived in East London, Mr. John Ruskin invited Denison, John R. Green and myself (I cannot remember whether Edmund Hollond was of the party, if so, he was the only other person present) to discuss with him in his house at Denmark Hill the possibility of doing something for the poor. Denison and Green hit out the idea of a University Settlement, of a colony of men who should do what Denison and Hollond were doing".

John Richard Green, the author of *The Short History of the English People*, went in 1860 for nine years as a minister to the poor in East London. The impressions which he received in the streets of Hoxton and Stepney decided his standpoint as a historian to whom the people were more interesting than their princes, and to whom the depicting of social relationships appeared of more importance than a detailed history of wars. On Edmund Hollond, see note, p. 23.

a nation is an organism whose members are intimately correlated, and so interdependent that the fate of one must be as important to another as his own. An economic and social order which condemns one part of the people to misery and degeneracy must conduce to the ruin of the nation. The relation of master and servant is indeed ordained of God, and is too deeply rooted in human nature for any improvement ever to be expected through its abolition. But every privilege has its corresponding duties. In fact, one may say the highest right of the masses is to be governed; the gravest duty for those who can rule is the duty to rule.

The poverty of the lower classes, their moral and physical demoralisation, prove that the ruling part has not fulfilled its duty; the slums of the large towns by their very existence utter a loud complaint against the well-to-do. Not with gold, nor with legislative and administrative measures alone, can these redeem their responsibilities. Far more, a throwing in of their personality, a sacrifice of life is demanded as an atonement for past guilt. "Not money, but yourselves".

In the old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Social Idealism found the firmest footing. Already in the fifties, long before Ruskin sounded his battle-cry and Toynbee inspired youth, news of the social misery in London had been brought to the old Universities, and had awakened their conscience. Maurice, the leader of the Christian Socialists, had tried to arouse interest in the Working Men's College, which was founded in London in 1854. In this he saw far more than a mere School, ever and again insisting on the importance of personal sympathy, ever and again demanding that the poor should be helped not only through bare instruction, but that the educated as men should come into contact with them.

Thus already at the end of the fifties, graduates who

came from the University to London frequently placed their free time at the disposal of the College. Later, the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges began to found Missions in the slums of London (see Introduction). Also the University Extension Movement, which set in at the end of the sixties, and of which we shall speak in detail later of (see Excursus 1), is to be looked upon as in part an expression of the new social spirit.

And many a man went on his own account in the Vacation to a poor quarter of London to learn to understand the life there from personal experience, and to help where he could. Among the first was Edward Denison, whose name will always be mentioned as one of the most distinguished in connection with the Settlement Movement. At the age of 27 he came in 1867 to London, where he lived for eight months. He founded a school in which he himself gave religious instruction and lectured to working men. He died as early as 1870.

But the most brilliant representative at the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties, the leader of the younger Oxford generation who were inspired by social ideals, was Arnold Toynbee, the story of whose life gives the best idea of the mental world out of which the Settlement Movement was born. Indeed, only he can set forth the significance of Arnold Toynbee who had the good fortune to know him personally; for, like every apostle, he was at his greatest, not in his work, not in his deeds, which may be marked by numbers and dates, but as a personality from which a stream of light and life issued wherever he passed.

His external life was short and poor in events. He was born in Savile Row, London, on August 23, 1852. His early passionate inclination for the Army induced his father to send him at 14, after he had spent a few years at school in Blackheath, to the Rev. J. M. Bracken-

bury at Wimbledon, where he was to be prepared for the Military Academy at Woolwich. But his intellectual interests, which came more and more into the foreground, made him give up these plans. He left Wimbledon at 16 and began to attend lectures at King's College, London, with a view to taking up the Civil Service. Two years later he decided on the Bar; but this scheme also was not realised. He passed through a period of most painful uncertainty, and at last resolved to devote himself to History and the Philosophy of History. The following years were spent entirely in study and meditation in deepest solitude. In January 1873 he entered at Pembroke College, Oxford. In November of the same year he competed for the Brackenbury scholarship for History at Balliol. He met with no success, but made a deep impression on his Examiners, and Jowett,¹ Master of Balliol, sought to win him for his own College. In January 1875, Toynbee became a member of Balliol and an enthusiastic pupil of Thomas Hill Green.² In 1878

¹ It is in the first instance to be traced to the influence of Jowett, Master of Balliol, that an intellectual centre was formed there. He was an expert of the first rank in the knowledge of human nature. Thus he recognised Arnold Toynbee, whom he had never seen before, in the disadvantageous position of an unsuccessful candidate in examination, and attempted, with a breach of all etiquette, to make him unfaithful to Pembroke and to win him for Balliol. He also prophesied for the present Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, when he was living as an undergraduate at Balliol, a great future. One of his most prominent pupils was Thomas Hill Green.

Jowett was always in contact with the most important men of his day. Towards Ruskin he cherished a personal antipathy. He had very lofty views on social duties, but the Social Movement lay outside the circle of his own interests. He was no absolutely reliable scientific worker, but his very presence made a strong personality of will and spirit felt. In addition, he possessed deep piety. "He knew God", said some one to me who had known him.

² The moral philosopher, Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882), Fellow of Balliol College, was not directly inspiring, like Ruskin. Heavy, slow of expression, unable "to fling himself into the feeling of the moment", he yet possessed an extraordinary influence over his pupils.

he took his degree in *litteræ humaniores* and was immediately—a rare distinction—appointed a tutor at Balliol. A strong interest for Political Economy had led him to careful study in this direction, and this now enabled him to give lectures on the History of Economics and the principles of Economics, especially for students who were preparing for the Indian Civil Service. In 1879 he married. He died on March 9, 1883. His last years were filled with his tutorial work, his studies in Political Economy, lectures to working men, and an active share in public life in Oxford.

These are the simple landmarks of the abounding life of a man who is to be placed among the finest spirits which England in the nineteenth century called her own.

A strong Puritan of the best stamp, he combined with Puritan severity and narrowness the Puritan strength of soul. He was a man of very deep personal piety, which was expressed in a dry manner and philosophic form. But in this very form it was impressive and convincing to intellectual young men with the strong philosophic interests which characterised that particular generation of undergraduates at Balliol. They felt the power of an assured personality. Moreover, the active part he took in the affairs of the community made them feel that he was not a mere theorist. It had its origin in an intense interest in the problem of poverty, in a heartfelt sympathy with all who suffered. Carlyle, Maurice and Kingsley were among his favourite authors. The question of national education pre-occupied him, and he publicly advocated the reform of the school system. In a universal scheme of education with no distinction of rank he saw one of the most powerful remedies for the evils of social life. Also in questions of Church reform he took the liveliest interest. On all these points he won in Arnold Toynbee a most enthusiastic and sympathetic pupil. At the outset it was Ruskin, Toynbee and Green who created the spirit among the Oxford young men out of which the Settlement Movement could be born.

[Positivism (Comtism), which had found in England a keen champion in Frederic Harrison, sympathised throughout with the Settlement Movement, which expressed its own ideals of humanity. (Harrison was a personal friend of Canon Barnett.) But it was never so important as to be considered the spiritual source of the Settlement Movement. This may be mentioned expressly in opposition to the contrary views.]

He is of the race of the prophets and martyrs, on whose shoulders weigh the weakness and misery of mankind. But the struggles and sufferings of the man engraved no wrinkles on his noble countenance, and could not disturb the angelic purity and charm of his character, so that he lives on in the memory of his friends as a figure of light, as the beautiful youth he was until his physical strength gave way. Viscount Milner could say of him, "No man has ever had for me the same fascination, or made me realise as he did the secret of prophetic power, the kind of influence exercised in all ages by the men of religious and moral inspiration".

Already as a boy, as the pencil of Jessie Landseer has preserved him for us, he was of rare charm, but without weakness. He was passionately devoted to sports of every kind. During his school days at Blackheath he was the leader of his comrades in every prank, and a distinguished football player; yet his delicate constitution stood in his way in every physical exercise.

His mental development began under the most auspicious conditions. His father, Joseph Toynbee, a famous ear specialist, was a man of the highest culture and many-sided interests. In spite of the arduous duties of his profession, he devoted himself with the utmost attention to his children, and sought every means to awaken their inner life. He introduced them in play to Natural Science, and taught them to observe the life of plants and animals. Thus was early developed in the imaginative boy a sense of reality which in a rare degree counterbalanced his flights of fancy. Also a taste for good literature was cultivated. Ruskin and Frederick W. Robertson were among the favourite authors of Joseph Toynbee. He was, in addition, an enthusiastic admirer of the Lake Poets; he called his eldest son after Wordsworth, Arnold Toynbee after Doctor Arnold, and a daughter after Coleridge. He

once, in the summer holidays, undertook a kind of pilgrimage with his children to the Lake district, where they visited Matthew Arnold and his family, and followed the footsteps of Wordsworth.

The foundation of his character was an uncommon goodness. Already as a young man he visited the poor, and later brought up his children designedly in this spirit. Miss Gertrude Toynbee tells how in the morning they used to bring flowers from the garden for the crossing-sweepers and shoe-blacks in London. He advocated zealously the improvement of workmen's dwellings and the preservation of open spaces and parks, at a time when the Government scarcely thought of such things. In his own neighbourhood of Wimbledon, thanks to his initiative, a museum for educational purposes was established and popular lectures were held. He was deeply religious, but seldom spoke of his inner life.

It can easily be understood that the influence of this father was a deep and lasting one, although an early death took him from his children when Arnold was only 14. He was, if not his father's favourite, yet, at any rate, the son from whom he expected most, and in whom his own ideals were to be most completely incorporated, though only after severe struggles. The early loss of a leader brought the boy, who did not know whither he ought to follow his active spirit, into grave perplexity, which, owing to his conscientiousness, became a torture, and ended in unnatural isolation.

The University brought relief. Although he continued to lead a quiet and retired life as a student, he quickly found a circle of friends on whom he had the most profound influence, and he was a born leader of young men. He had beauty, intelligence, enthusiasm, and the gift of language in an uncommon degree, so far as it concerned things which lay near his heart. He was most convincing

if he felt himself supported by the enthusiasm of his hearers. Moreover, he was the best and truest of friends, who shared the smallest joys and sorrows of his comrades as though they were his own lot, and never grew weary where he could help. His delicate health made much work impossible to him, and thus he was able to devote a great part of his time to social life.

Shortly after Toynbee came to Oxford, Ruskin, at that time Professor of the Fine Arts at the University, went out with a number of his students to mend with their own hands a high road in the neighbourhood of the city, and thus to give them some notion of the meaning of manual work. Toynbee distinguished himself by his keen co-operation, and thereby gained the special interest of the master, who recognised his social capabilities and handed over to him the arrangement of the famous breakfast parties at Corpus Christi to which he used to invite his young friends in order to influence them more deeply and personally than was possible at lectures. Thus Toynbee came as a most enthusiastic and receptive disciple into the atmosphere of Ruskin, a disciple in the sense in which Ruskin defines the word when he says: "No true disciple of mine will ever become a 'Ruskinian': he will not follow me, but the instincts of his own soul and the guidance of its Creator". It is noteworthy what intellectual independence Toynbee preserved with all his veneration, and he never shared Ruskin's conservative principles, though beyond doubt he received definite inspiration from him.

On the other hand, he had a great admiration for T. H. Green, who, as Prof. Montague says, united the critical spirit of the German philosopher to the zeal of a Puritan divine. Also in Toynbee we find an unusual combination of ideal effort with critical thoroughness, ennobled, to be sure, by a geniality entirely lacking in Green. He had, like Ruskin, the faculty of pursuing and analysing

a phenomenon in detail, of accumulating material, and yet not losing sight of the general point of view.

In this consists the excellence of the only (fragmentary) work which he has left to Science, *The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England*. It is characteristic that he chose this subject which satisfied his historical inclinations, and at the same time forwarded his effort to solve the problem of the modern working class. Unfortunately, he could not complete the work he had laid out on such broad lines, but the fragments are valuable, more especially his studies on the condition of the English yeomanry, the very original attempt to understand Adam Smith, Malthus and Ricardo as products of their time and in their relation to each other, and his exposition of the relation of deductive and inductive methods in Political Economy. As a historian he regarded the classical school from a critical standpoint, yet without denying the task of Political Economy to state laws in economic life, only insisting that this must be done on a broader basis of historical and sociological investigations. Thus he thought and wrote thirty years ago. Though his chief importance did not lie in the region of science, though his name will not live on as that of a productive thinker, yet it is beyond question that his early death was a heavy loss for Political Economy.

But the fate of the nation lay more on his heart than science or the business of teaching. As from his earliest youth up he had shown the greatest sympathy for all suffering, and any creature which was in need was above all others sure of his love, so also here his chief interest was in the mass of the poor, crushed under the wheels of the chariot of capital. His strong practical mind and his conscientiousness forbade him to become a theoretical reformer in the atmosphere of the University which was so far removed from life, and his deep and humble humanity revolted against all charity from above. There-

fore he resolved to learn to know social misery from his own observation. He put himself in touch with the Rev. S. A. Barnett, who was well known for his interest in problems of poverty, and took a room in his parish in Whitechapel during the Vacation of 1875. He visited the schools, and shared in the little festivities of the children and their teachers. He made investigations for the Charity Organisation Society, and by going from house to house became acquainted with life in East London. He joined the Tower Hamlets Radical Club (a Working Men's Club), and took part in its political debates.

In view of the religious and economic prejudices which he encountered there, he resolved to give lectures on these subjects in the Club, whereby he discovered a new gift of his, *i.e.*, that of a popular speaker in the best sense of the word, and he determined to use it so far as his small strength allowed him. Consequently he lectured to audiences of working men in different towns of England, always from the conviction that the irresistible progress of democracy entails a national danger if the education of the people does not keep pace with it.

His attempt to do practical social work failed through weak health; after a fortnight he had to leave Whitechapel, for the daily sight of misery and sin so affected him that his physical health broke down under it.¹ But yet this experience bore fruit; where he could, he worked for the bettering of the condition of the working classes. In 1881 he became a member of the Board of Guardians of the poor in Oxford, and took an active part in the work of the Charity Organisation Society.

¹ That the work of Toynbee in Whitechapel was important in itself is, as may be concluded from the shortness of his stay, a legend which, however, is always repeated. Cf. *e.g.* James Russell, *University Extension in England and America*.

He believed in the future possibilities of the co-operative movement, and was above all interested in its educational side. Even to-day his lecture on the "Education of Co-operators" is much read, in which, in accord with Robert Owen, he puts in the place of isolation and competition, brotherhood and the duties of a citizen. Yet he was of opinion that these were not to be realised in the formation of self-contained communities living in social aloofness, but in the co-operative societies as members of the great community of the English people.

All this activity derived its importance chiefly from the personality which stood behind it. He was a master of men, ruler in a spiritual kingdom, and what he meant as such cannot be measured. We need only refer to the work at Toynbee Hall in which his spirit found its resurrection. Not that it owed its origin to him alone, or even chiefly; nor is there to-day a living tradition leading back to him. The quickly changing generations of young graduates know little more than his name; but he helped to prepare the ground, he helped to create at Oxford the spirit out of which the work was born. He stood in the first rank of the champions of the cause of humanity, and when his weapons fell from his tired hands, others took them up and wielded them in his spirit.

But in his case the work of a reformer was inseparably connected with his piety. After he had overcome a certain intellectualism of his youth, the religious element became more and more the centre of his life. He took up the position of a critic towards the dogmas of the Church, though he did not see salvation in their destruction but in their reform. But he could attribute a less decisive importance to those crystallised forms of religious life, as he drew his religion entirely from the depths of personal experience. A passage in a letter to a friend in 1875 gives an insight into this side of his being:—

“‘To love God’—do you know these words gather

amazing force about them as life gets more difficult, mysterious and unfathomable. One's soul in its loneliness at last finds religion the only clue. And yet how weary is the search for God among the superstitious antiquities, contradictions and grossness of popular religion; but gleams of divinity are everywhere, and slowly in the end comes the divine peace. . . . It seems to me that the primary end of all religion is the faith that the end for which the whole universe of sense and thought, from the Milky Way to the lowest form of animal life—the end for which everything came into existence, is that the dim idea of perfect holiness which is found in the mind of man might be realised: that this idea is God Eternal, and the only reality; that the relation between this idea which is God and each individual man is Religion—the consciousness of the relation creating the Duty of perfect purity of inner life or being, and the duty of living for others, that they too may be perfectly pure in thought and action; and, lastly, that the world is so ordered that the triumph of righteousness is not impossible through the efforts of the individual will, in relation to Eternal existence.

“ Out of these simple ideas spring naturally the common elements of religion—prayer, which is the communion between the individual will and this perfect idea, and worship, the reverence and adoration for the Eternal idea, the end and cause of all things, the fountain of individual existence. I speak of God as an idea not as personal; I think you will understand what I mean if you ask yourself whether the pure love or thoughts of a man are not all that makes his personality dear to you; whether you would care that anything else of him should be immortal; whether you do not think of all else of him as the mere expression or symbol of his eternal, invisible existence? ”

The last lines prove that his belief was no vague

pantheism. This is still more clearly expressed in his lecture on the relation between Church and State, in which he says: "God is a person—how else could man love and worship God? What personality is we only faintly apprehend—who has withdrawn the impenetrable veil which hides our own personality from us? God is a father—but who has explained a father's love? There is limitation to man's knowledge, and he is disposed to cry out, 'Why this impassable barrier?' He knows he is limited—why he is limited he knows not. Only by some image does he strive to approach the mystery. The sea, he may say, had no voice until it ceased to be supreme on the globe. There, where its dominion ended and its limits began, on the edge of the land, it broke silence. Man would have had no tongue had he been merely infinite. Where he feels his limits, where the infinite spirit within him touches the shore of his finite life, there he, too, breaks silence".

This religious spirit gave an intensity and colour to everything he undertook, and the flame of his love for God and man burnt brighter and brighter in the course of the years till he was consumed by it.

During the early days of his very happy marriage he seemed to revive and to overcome his physical weakness, but he soon plunged anew, with increased zeal, into work of different kinds. So many, he felt, needed him, and he could but give himself without considering his own well-being. Thus while his spiritual force grew daily, his body became weaker and weaker. In 1882 he delivered two lectures at Oxford on Henry George's book, *Progress and Poverty*, which he repeated in London in January of the following year, in spite of feeling very ill. A strong opposition made the undertaking a heavy strain, and after the second lecture he broke down, and returned home a dying man.

The last words which he spoke in public were specially

addressed to working men, and express the deepest aim and hope of his life.

“Some of you have been impatient here this evening ; you have shouted for revolution ; but I do not think that that is the feeling of the great mass of the people. What I do feel is, that they are justified, in a way, in looking with dislike and suspicion on those who are better to do. We—the middle classes, I mean, not merely the very rich—we have neglected you ; instead of justice we have offered you charity, and instead of sympathy we have offered you hard and unreal advice ; but I think we are changing. If you would only believe it and trust us, I think that many of us would spend our lives in your service. You have—I say it clearly and advisedly—you have to forgive us, for we have wronged you ; we have sinned against you grievously—not knowingly always, but still we have sinned, and let us confess it ; but if you will forgive us—nay, whether you will forgive us or not—we will serve you, we will devote our lives to your service, and we cannot do more. It is not that we care about public life, for what is public life but the miserable, arid waste of barren controversies and personal jealousies, and grievous loss of time ? Who would live in public life if he could help it ? But we students, we would help you if we could. We are willing to give up something much dearer than fame and social position. We are willing to give up the life we care for, the life with books and with those we love. We will do this, and only ask you one thing in return. We will ask you to remember this—that we work for you in the hope and trust that if you get material civilisation, if you get a better life, you will really lead a better life. If, that is, you get material civilisation, remember that it is not an end in itself. Remember that man, like trees and plants, has his roots in the earth ; but like the trees and plants, he must grow upwards towards the heavens.

If you will only keep to the love of your fellow-men and to great ideals, then we shall find our happiness in helping you; but if you do not, then our reparation will be in vain.

“ And, last of all, you must remember that if you will join hands with us, we do intend that we shall as a nation accomplish great things, and seek to redeem what is evil in our past. We shall try to rule India justly. We shall try to obtain forgiveness from Ireland. We shall try to prevent subject races being oppressed by our commerce, and we shall try to spread to every clime the love of man ”.

He was, in truth, a modern saint.

When Toynbee wished to go to London, he had consulted the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, and this man it was who called into life the Institution in which the thoughts of social idealism were to be realised in their purest form—the Settlement.

Samuel A. Barnett was born on February 8, 1844, at Bristol. After preparation at home he entered at Wadham College, Oxford, where he spent his time as a student. In 1867 he was ordained, and appointed curate at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London. There his experiences as a spiritual adviser first awoke his interest in social questions. He made the acquaintance of Miss Henrietta Rowland, who, with Miss Octavia Hill, inspired by Ruskin, sought to help the poor.

In 1872, Mr. Edmund Hollond, who, following the example of Denison, had settled in East London, caused the vacant living of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, to be offered to Mr. Barnett in consideration of his inclination towards social work. In spite of its miserable condition, enhanced by the long illness of his predecessor, Mr. Barnett accepted it at once, and soon after married Miss Rowland. Then began a new epoch for East London.¹

¹ Canon Barnett died on June 17, 1913.

Of the conditions which Mr. Barnett found when he accepted the living of St. Jude's, the most romantic description can hardly give an exaggerated picture. Mrs. Barnett tells¹ that robbery and assault were frequent in the streets ; the windows of the vicarage were smashed, and the vicar and his wife were even pelted with stones in the street. Constantly they had to intervene in quarrels outside their own house.

In Whitechapel there were an Irish and a Jewish quarter, while a whole network of streets was acknowledged to be a criminal district ; that is to say, a very difficult, but not unpromising human material lay at hand. The Irish at least, as one learns to know them in the slums of London, alert, full of temperament, rich in imagination, lovable scamps like the gipsies, of a decidedly religious disposition, willingly yield to a good influence, though indeed it is hard for them entirely to give up stealing and cheating.

The Jews are different. Though at the beginning of the seventies they were not nearly so numerous as they are to-day, yet they already formed a considerable portion of the population of East London.²

Though the incursion of Jews forms a danger in so far as it concerns an uncivilised, hungry, ragged proletariat, the Russian Jews, on the other hand, bring with them all the good Jewish qualities : intelligence, diligence, temperance, a happy family life, comparatively careful education of their children, scarcity of vice and crime, and a deep sense of religion distinguish them from their English neighbours in the slum, and it has been observed that the most ill-famed streets have become

¹ In an article, " The Beginning of Toynbee Hall ", reprinted in *Towards Social Reform*, by Canon and Mrs. S. A. Barnett (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1909).

² The number of London Jews was estimated in 1900 at 110,000, of whom 100,000 lived in the East End.

peaceful and safe, if not cleanly, after their settlement by Jews.¹ But they always remain the same, aliens who make their own Ghetto, even where the law allows them every freedom, and who, in spite of all external adaptability, remain untouched in their nature by their surroundings, wrapped up in an armour of tradition, thousands of years old, of obedience to law, and of the power of resistance of a race of incomparable tenacity. They are unpopular through their complete difference from Englishmen, and make themselves unloved as inconvenient competitors; this explains the anti-Semitism of East London. To influence them is naturally as difficult as it is easy in the case of the Irish.

This, then, was the environment in which Mr. and Mrs. Barnett began their new work, and which suggested to them the thought of the blessing that a number of cultured men, ready to help, might bring. Slowly, during long years, this idea ripened. First in 1875, and again and again afterwards, they visited Oxford, and also Cambridge, sought to get into touch with graduates and undergraduates who showed an interest in such things, and discussed with them the plan they had at heart. Especially in Oxford there collected round them a circle of loyal friends, with Arnold Toynbee at their head.

Practical results also did not fail to appear. Already in 1875 five Oxford undergraduates came in the Vacation to East London, worked in the service of the "Charity Organisation Society" (see p. 91), became members of the Clubs and imparted instruction.

Toynbee died on March 9, 1883. About the same time a sensational pamphlet, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast*

¹ Cf. Canon Barnett's Introduction to *The Jew in London*, by C. Russell, B.A., and H. S. Lewis, M.A. (T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1900). Also, Charles Booth says: "It is quite true that when Jews take up their abode in a notorious street its reputation changes for the better" (*Life and Labour in London*, 3rd series: "Religious Influences", vol. ii. p. 7).

London,¹ directed general attention to the misery in the London slums, and the horror found relief in universal readiness to help.

In June 1883, on the point of going to Oxford, Mr. Barnett received a letter saying that two men at St. John's College, Cambridge, were ready to do something for the poor, but wished to found no ordinary Mission, because they desired to put their own personalities into the service of social work, and not to satisfy themselves with sharing in an annual subscription for the support of a Missioner.

Barnett replied with the suggestion that a house should be hired in the midst of a poor quarter, and that they should stay there for a shorter or longer time. The letter went on to say that intimate personal knowledge of the poor was the basis of a really good system of Poor Laws. It added that the English parish administration rests on the supposition that everywhere a set of cultured men should be at hand who were free to give their time, and these must be artificially placed in districts where they were wanted.

One may say that this letter founded Toynbee Hall. The same ideas were further explained in a lecture² which Barnett delivered in November of the same year at St. John's College, Oxford, and in which he gave a rough sketch of the Settlement as it later actually appeared. The fundamental thought was uttered which later on is

¹ The author was the Rev. Andrew Mearns of the Congregational Union, Memorial Hall, London, E.C. A summary of the pamphlet was printed in the *Pall Mall Gazette* at the time, and a leading article on the subject appeared in that paper, written by W. T. Stead, the late editor of *The Review of Reviews*. This article is said to have greatly helped this pamphlet to become known, so much so that for a time it became almost the fashion among a certain set of the wealthy classes to go "Slumming", as they termed it.

² Published as a pamphlet, *Settlements of University Men in Great Towns* (Chronicle Company, Oxford, 1884).

repeated as a refrain when the purpose and aim of the Settlement Work is to be made clear—that the foundation of a real thorough improvement of the social evils is a friendly mutual approach of those who give and those who need help, and that human sympathy is more valuable than material assistance. To be sure, similar ideas were already partly realised in the College Missions; but, on the one hand, those exclude (apart from the fact that laymen at that time hardly took part in Mission work) all workers who do not belong to the Church of England, or who object to sharing in pronounced Church undertakings; and, on the other hand, it is difficult for them to reach the classes of people who would have nothing to do with the Church. Especially in Whitechapel, with its Roman Catholic Irish and its strong Jewish population, the idea of an undenominational enterprise forced itself upon them, all the more as it concerned purely human questions which were limited to no creed. Also the many-sided possibilities of work were sketched out: the Settlement Rooms would serve for instruction, public concerts, social gatherings, the members would make investigations for the Charity Organisation Society, become managers of Industrial and Elementary Schools, and members of Sanitary Committees, impart instruction, lead Clubs, and work in Co-operative and Friendly Societies. The elder ones would endeavour to have a seat on Local Government Boards.

This suggestion fell on fruitful soil prepared long before. Already in Ruskin's circle, as mentioned above, the same idea had been discussed. It was nothing but the consequence of the thoughts which inspired Barnett's friends in Oxford and Cambridge; the consequence of what he had often uttered verbally and by writing.

The necessity for action was recognised. After Barnett's lecture at St. John's College a committee of Oxford graduates and undergraduates was appointed

with the object of reporting on the method by which the plan of founding a University Colony in East London could best be realised. This report was laid before a gathering of all those interested, at Oxford, on February 23, 1884, and adopted. It was resolved to form a society for the purpose of founding and supporting a "University Settlement in East London", and to offer the management of it to Mr. Barnett. A general committee was appointed in London, and was empowered to buy the necessary ground, together with the buildings erected thereon, and to prepare them for the reception of University men; further, the task was laid upon it of considering how to raise the necessary capital. Besides this, they appointed a second Oxford Committee, which was to secure the support of the different Colleges. First of all it was to create among the undergraduates an understanding of the miserable conditions in the slums of London, and of the way in which each could attack it; then it was to find a sum to cover the first outlay; and finally, by a yearly subscription from the different Colleges, to ensure the continuance of the work.¹

At Cambridge also interest became keen. After one or two preparatory conferences summoned by the "Committee for the Study of Social Questions", a large meeting was held in the Guildhall in May 1884, in which the resolution was passed² that this meeting of members of the University of Cambridge desired to work with the Members of the University of Oxford who wished to found a University Settlement in East London. A committee was appointed which was to secure pecuniary and personal support to the "Universities' Settlement Association" founded in Oxford, and, moreover, repre-

¹ See *First Annual Report of the Universities' Settlement in East London*, 1885.

² See *Work for University Men in East London* (Review Office, Cambridge, 1884).

representatives of Cambridge were selected for the London Committee of this Association.

Work was begun without delay. £4000 had to be raised immediately by subscriptions, later another £7000. By the autumn they had got so far that the University Extension Lectures, which hitherto had found a scanty accommodation in Canon Barnett's schoolrooms, could now be held in the new Hall. On Christmas Eve, 1884, the first Residents slept in the new Settlement, and at the beginning of 1885 it was completely finished.

The name "Toynbee Hall" goes back to a suggestion of Mrs. Barnett. On March 9, 1884, the first anniversary of Toynbee's death, a memorial service was held in the Chapel of Balliol College; Barnett preached. Under the influence at once of the spiritual continuance of their friend and the pending negotiations for the foundation of the Settlement, the idea came to Mrs. Barnett to call it "Toynbee Hall", as the most eloquent expression of the hope of its founders that in this place a living intercourse would be established between working men and representatives of intellectual culture. The proposition was approved by the committee, and thus the "Mother of Settlements" received her name.

PART II

TOYNBEE HALL—"THE MOTHER OF SETTLEMENTS"

I. ORGANISATION

THE character of the Settlement, as distinguished from any organisation, consists in its representing a living organism. But this also needs a suitable frame-work to make it effective.

The Settlement is the property of the above-mentioned Association which brought about its foundation, and is called "The Universities' Settlement in East London".

It was hoped to extend the enterprise by founding further Settlements beyond the borders of Whitechapel and even of London, but later this could never be seriously thought of.

The price of membership is a payment of £2, 10s. for five years, or 10s. for one year.

The members choose the Council, which is responsible for the direction of the Settlement. Should one of the directors resign, he suggests a substitute, who is generally chosen. He must be a member of the Association.

At the head of the Settlement is a "Head" or "Warden".

It has accommodation for twenty-two Residents. Any one, provided the house is not full, is admitted without difficulty on recommendation, but at the beginning is regarded merely as a visitor. Only after three

months' uninterrupted residence can he, on the recommendation of the Warden and the Residents, be chosen by the Council as a Resident ; and this does not take place unless he has shown serious interest in the work of the Settlement and is ready to help with it. The Resident, as such, is not a member of the Association. His financial indebtedness is limited to a payment for board and lodging ; as far as the Residents are concerned the Settlement supports itself.

The Residents form a committee which attends to current business. The administration of the Institutions for Popular Education (Lectures, Classes, etc.) lies in the hands of a Special Committee which is formed of members of the Council, the Residents, two representatives of the London County Council, and four representatives of the Evening Classes. Thus the students are allowed to take part in the organisation of the Classes, and are ensured consideration of their wishes. Besides this, there is an Entertainment and a Finance Committee.

Any one who does not live in Toynbee Hall, but has either been a Resident or, without having been such, wishes to share in the work of the Settlement, can be elected as Associate. As such he takes no part in the administration, but has the right to use the Settlement as a Club, to take his meals there, etc. He pays an annual subscription of a guinea.

From 1884-1911, 188 Residents have lived at Toynbee Hall.¹ The time of their stay has varied considerably.

¹ The importance of the Settlement lies largely in the educational influence which it exercises on the Residents, and which in many cases has given the direction to their whole life. But even where the later calling has no direct relation to Settlement work, the teachings of Toynbee Hall are not forgotten: in no one who has lived there does the social conscience again go to sleep. From this point of view it is interesting to follow the career of the Residents. There are three Members of Parliament, one of whom is Parliamentary secretary to the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, one was private

Many have left the Settlement after little more than three months. One Resident has lived there without interruption since 1886. The average time of stay is 2 years 3·8 months. It has increased in length in the last ten years, though not greatly. It is important that there are always at least four to six Residents who have a number of years of Settlement work behind them : they represent the tradition, and their experience is of the most valuable help to newcomers. Where this band of experienced workers does not exist (Toynbee Hall has never had to be without them) the Settlement stands and falls with the personality of the Warden.

The number of Associates (1912) is 226, of the members of the Association 152.

The financial needs of the Settlement amount to about £2650 a year, of which say £1800 is spent on salaries, maintenance of the building, classes, lectures, etc., and the upkeep of the Library, £600 on University Extension Lectures and the payment of teachers for the Men's Classes, and £250 for the arrangement of social gatherings and festivities. To the Warden a salary of £250 is assigned which hitherto has never been taken, but has been devoted to the interest of the Settlement.

Only a proportionately small part of the necessary

secretary of the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, who himself takes a keen interest in Toynbee Hall ; one is private secretary to the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, one member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, one member of the Central (Unemployed) Body for London, one member of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, two members of the London Education Committee, one Principal of University College, Reading, two professors of Political Economy, one organiser and director of Labour Exchanges, Board of Trade, one chairman of the London Trade Boards, one permanent Secretary to the Board of Trade, one editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, one managing director and one parliamentary correspondent of the *Daily News and Leader*, one assistant editor of the *Economist*, one collaborator, with Charles Booth, in *Life and Labour in London*, one alderman of the London County Council, etc. etc.

sum is covered by the subscriptions of the members of the Association and the Associates. For the rest, the Settlement is supported by subscriptions in which naturally, in the first instance, Oxford and Cambridge Colleges take part, especially Balliol, which usually supplies £150 or more. There exists in Oxford, as in Cambridge, a Committee which by holding meetings and by personal persuasion seeks to keep awake interest in the Movement, especially with the help of Secretaries whom the Settlement has in fifteen Oxford and eight Cambridge Colleges.

II. TOYNBEE HALL, A CENTRE OF SOCIAL WORK

The difficulty in the description of Toynbee Hall lies in the wholly unsystematic variety and the perpetual change of the activities whose centre it forms. Its only programme is lack of programme, and no leading thought except the very vague one of the betterment of the condition of the lower classes helps to bring order into chaos. Even a faithful detailed description of the Toynbee Hall of to-day, in a moment of transition, when old methods of work are being forsaken, without any clear view into the future, would not give a fair idea of it. On the other hand, an exhaustive history of its activity would have to give a representation of the economic and social development of England during the last twenty-five years in order to be intelligible, for directly or indirectly it has shared in all the phases of the latter. Therefore we must limit ourselves to pointing out the most characteristic features ; no important branch of the work done at the present time in connection with the Settlement shall be omitted.

But as to-day is not a favourable point of time for

the description of Toynbee Hall, a survey shall be given of the work of the Settlement at the end of 1903, when it had reached a high-water mark under the direction of Canon Barnett. This gives even without a commentary an impression of its scope and variety.

POPULAR EDUCATION

University Extension and other Lectures. Men's Classes, Reading Circles, Debates (literary, artistic, concerning political economy, etc.). *Societies*—Antiquarian Society, Natural History Society, Travellers' Club, Shakespeare Society, Elizabethan Literary Society, Art Students' Club, Economic Club, Adam Smith Club, Chess Club, Workmen's Travelling Club, Students' Union, Pupil Teachers' Association, Pupil Teachers' Debating Society, Teachers' Association.

Three Residents and eleven Associates teach in the Classes.

Three Residents and nine Associates are active members of the Societies.

One Resident is Censor of the Students' Residences.

One Resident and one Associate are on the Pupil Teachers' Scholarship Committee.

One Associate is President of the Smoking Debates.

One Associate is President of the Pupil Teachers' Debates.

EDUCATION AND RECREATION

Clubs for Boys and Men, Brigades, Boys' Homes, Children's Play Hours, Concerts, Social Gatherings

Four Residents and twenty-one Associates work in Clubs. *Clubs for Boys*—Old Northeyites (Junior and Senior Department), Old Rutlanders (Junior and Senior

Department), Whittington Club, Brady Street Club, Old Daby Club, Stepney Jewish Lads' Club, Victoria Club.
Clubs for Men.—Limehouse Club.

One Resident and one Associate visit Boys' Homes.

One Resident organises Children's Play Hours.

Three Residents work in a Cripple School.

Three Associates manage a Boys' Brigade.

OTHER BRANCHES OF WORK

Toynbee Guild of Compassion.

Toynbee Nursing Guild.

Ambulance Brigade.

Free Library.

Poor Man's Lawyer.

Tenants' Defence Association.

Pupil Teachers' Scholars.

Time Table for the Week from December 6-12, 1903

Sunday.—Afternoon Concert ; Pupil Teachers' Union.

Monday.—Entertainment for the Old Northeyites ; Children's Play Hour ; Toynbee Natural History Society ; Guild of Compassion ; Men's Classes ; other classes in Latin, French Literature, Composition ; University Extension Lecture (Natural History).

Tuesday.—Stepney Visitors' Association ; Men's Classes ; other Classes : Bible and Modern Problems, Music, English Literature, Physiology ; University Extension Lecture (" Life and Politics in the Nineteenth Century ").

Wednesday.—Conference on Women's Emigration ; Elizabethan Literary Society ; Men's Classes ; University Extension Lecture (" Social Forces in Modern Literature ") ; Classes : Botany, Italian, Ambulance.

Thursday.—Smoking Debate, " The Far East " ; Toynbee Shakespeare Society ; Chess Club ; Poor Man's

Lawyer ; Men's Classes ; University Extension Lecture (" The Development of Social Man ").

Friday.—Informal Debate ; University Extension Lecture (" Growth of Morality and Law ") ; Classes : Geology, French, Greek, Drawing, Protection, First Aid ; Ambulance Drill.

Saturday.—Conference of Co-operative Societies on the Higher Education of Working Men ; Popular Lecture (" Scenes of London ") ; Chess Club ; Toynbee Art Students' Club ; Classes : English Literature, Jewish.

SOCIAL ACTIVITY OF RESIDENTS AND ASSOCIATES OUTSIDE TOYNBEE HALL

One Resident and five Associates are on the London County Council.

Two Residents, two Residents of Balliol House and two Associates are on Stepney Borough Council.

One Resident and eight Associates are on the Local Board of Guardians.

Three Associates are on the London School Board.

Six Residents and fourteen Associates are School Managers.

Two Residents act as Secretaries of the " Children's Country Holiday Fund " (Central), and three Residents and ten Associates work on the Local Committees.

One Resident and six Associates work in the " Charity Organisation Society ".

Two Residents are on the " Tower Hamlets Pension Committee ".

Two Residents and one Associate are members of the " Sanitary Aid Committee ".

One Associate is Secretary of the " Prisoners' Aid Society ".

Four Residents and four Associates work on Mansion House Unemployed Scheme, 1903-04.

One Resident and two Associates advise as Poor Man's Lawyer.

Two Residents and four Associates belong to Thrift Societies and Friendly Societies.

Six Associates are engaged in Economic Inquiries.

This review, with its confusing variety, gives a picture which on the whole corresponds with the Toynbee Hall of to-day, though the centre of gravity has shifted from occupation with individual men to political and administrative activities, that is to say, in a certain sense, from inside outwards.

In the following pages the branches of work will be described, which have as their object popular education.

III. POPULAR EDUCATION AT TOYNBEE HALL

From the first years of its existence, Toynbee Hall formed a centre for popular education in East London, a combination of Continuation Schools and a University for the people.

Hand in hand with the advance of democracy in England, goes the recognition that the question of popular education is simply a question of existence for the democratic State, and hence results the willingness of all parties to share in the reform of instruction and education, a willingness without which the rapid development which England has made in this direction during the last forty years could not be understood.

Through the legislation of the seventies the foundation was laid for a radical reform of the elementary schools. But the problem was, and to a large degree is still to-day, how to impart a higher education to those classes of the people who for economic reasons are unable to attend the secondary school and the University. Evening schools, attendance at which is voluntary, did not exist

in sufficient number, and in many cases the desire for them had first to be awakened; and the University Extension Lectures, which for a period of years had been held in East London, lacked suitable accommodation.

Here the Settlement work came in.

We deal in the following sections with—(1) Evening Classes held at Toynbee Hall; (2) University Extension Lectures; (3) other less formal methods of imparting popular education.

I. EVENING CLASSES

Evening Classes belonged from the beginning to the programme of Settlement work, and already in the early years they grew into an extensive system. The following short summary of the plan of study for 1886-87 may serve as an example.

The Classes were divided into five groups: Groups A and B.—Languages, Literature and Moral Philosophy. Group C.—Natural Science. Group D.—Music and Art. Group E.—Handicraft.

Subjects of Study

GROUPS A and B.—Critical Study of Bible History, Moral Philosophy, Literature, English History, Political Economy, German, French, Latin, Ruskin, Mazzini. Total number attending, 180.

GROUP C.—Physical Geography, Geology, Chemistry, Botany, Microscopical Studies, Natural History, Biology, Astronomy. Total number attending, 156, besides Ambulance Classes with 54 attending.

GROUP D.—Singing, Violin, Drawing, Stenography (!). Number attending, about 150.

GROUP E.—Carpentry, Wood Carving, Modelling, Musical Drill. Number attending, about 100.

That the undertaking could be begun on so large a

scale, and that at once about 600 were found to attend, proves how urgent was the existing need. Of course, we must not forget, firstly, that the actual attendance is often considerably smaller than the number on paper; and, secondly, that many belong at the same time to several classes, so that the real number of students probably did not exceed 400.

The organisation of classes and subjects of instruction have since constantly changed, ever adapting themselves to the need of the moment. The opening of excellent Polytechnics in London, in which free instruction is given in branches of technical knowledge and Natural Science, and which are very well equipped, has led to the giving up of the branches requiring material which is difficult to provide, of the technical classes and the chemical laboratories.

The details of the development are of no interest. The organisation of the Classes which obtained till 1913, dates from 1893. Since then a difference has been made between classes exclusively for men, "Men's Classes", and smaller classes for men and women, the so-called "Toynbee Classes". The first received from the Board of Education a grant which is in proportion to the number of lessons given multiplied by the number of students actually present.¹ Since 1908 the Toynbee Classes as well as the University Extension Lectures have been supported by the Board of Education. The total grant by the Board in 1909-10 was nearly £100.

An important change was brought about in the summer of 1906 by an arrangement with the London County Council. According to the Education Act, 1902 (Part II. Higher Education, Section 2), the County Council has the power to give financial support to

¹ See Board of Education, "Regulations for Technical Schools, Schools of Art, and other Forms of Provision of Further Education in England and Wales".

all but elementary education, in return for which the organisation of the instruction is subject to certain regulations imposed by it, and under its control. Of this power the County Council has made use with regard to the Men's Classes and University Extension Lectures. The by-law, so far as it concerns the Classes, runs thus :—

(a) " That the salaries of the responsible and assistant teachers of the Men's Evening Continuation School, conducted by the Council of the Universities Settlement Association at Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, E., be paid by the Council, and that the rates of pay and the conditions of appointment be those set out in the regulations for evening schools provisionally adopted by the Council.

(b) " That the Education Committee of the Council of the Universities' Settlement Association of Toynbee Hall be appointed by the Council as managers of the evening school, and be authorised to nominate teachers for appointment.

(c) " That the evening school, so far as the appointment of teachers under regulation (a) is concerned, be subject to the regulations for evening schools provisionally adopted by the Council.

(d) " That representatives of the Council be appointed on the Council of the Settlement Association of Toynbee Hall, and that such representatives be also placed upon the Education Committee of the Association "

In the Men's Classes, instruction was given in Arithmetic, Algebra, Book-keeping, English, French, Commercial Geography, Geometry, Athletics, English History, and Stenography.¹ They were under a "responsible master", who had a staff of assistants. The teachers were paid. They adhered to an established plan of study. The lowest age for admission to these Classes was 15.

¹ Since 1913 the commercial subjects have been omitted from the Education Scheme. Cf. p. 44.

The right to attend all Classes for a year was obtained after payment of a shilling. The year's work was divided into three terms : September to December, January to March, April to June. The London Chamber of Commerce, the Royal Society of Arts, and the National Union of Teachers held examinations at the end of the Classes. They awarded certificates which gave no direct advantage, but served as a recommendation in certain callings.

The "Toynbee Classes" bear a much more informal character. The instruction, as a rule, is given voluntarily. The subjects of instruction are (Autumn 1911)—German (for beginners and advanced pupils), French (for beginners), French Literature, Elizabethan Literature, Shakespeare, Esperanto. The Classes are usually much smaller than the Men's Classes. Women also are admitted. The lowest charge for attendance at a single class is one shilling.

Besides, there exist Classes in Singing, Drawing, Hygiene, and Ambulance Drill.

The direction of the whole system of instruction lay in the hands of a Committee consisting of sixteen members, which was formed as follows :—

Six members were chosen by an executive Committee consisting of representatives of the organisations of students of Toynbee Hall (see below), and the voluntary teachers of the Toynbee Classes.

Three members were Residents of Toynbee Hall, nominated by the Grand Committee of Residents.

Six members were nominated by the Council of the Universities' Settlement Association, two of whom represented the London County Council.

The Warden was *ex officio* President.

In addition the Men's Classes had a special Committee consisting of three "Managers", who must be Residents of Toynbee Hall, the "responsible teacher", and at least nine representatives, chosen by the students from

among themselves. They made suggestions as to methods of instruction, subjects, etc.

A Committee representative of Toynbee Classes and Societies as well as the Residents and Education Committee was formed in 1913. It undertakes the organisation of the social activities connected with the Classes, and makes suggestions towards the improvement of the educational system of Toynbee Hall.

The following statistics may give an idea of the composition of and attendance at the Classes :—

(a) Men's Classes

Attendance 1911-12, 280 (1912-13, 347). Occupation: Clerks, 45 per cent.; Industrial, 25 per cent.; Commercial, 18 per cent.; Various, 12 per cent. (1910-11 there were 89 working-men, 69 of whom were skilled, 20 unskilled). A summary of the years 1905-08 shows that a total of 440 students presented themselves, from which we may conclude that even if the average yearly attendance is fixed only at 250 (a regular keeping of the books only exists since the London County Council demanded an account of the Classes, that is to say since 1906-07), most of the students attended for several years. 347 of these 440 came from East London, 71 from North-East London, 6 from South London, 16 from other districts of the City. 107 were Jews. As to their occupation, 166 were clerks, 76 (mostly unskilled) were warehouse employés and shop assistants, 152 other working-men.

(b) Toynbee Classes

Attendance 1910-11, 224; 1911-12, 386; 1912-13, 153. The condition for the support of the County Council is a certain minimum attendance, varying with the subject of instruction (for the opening of the Classes

9 to 15 students are necessary).¹ In the above figures the Classes in Drawing, Hygiene, etc., are included. Of the 224 students (1910-11), 148 were men (31 clerks, 31 skilled, 21 unskilled working-men, 30 other occupations, 35 of unknown occupations), 76 were women, of whom 37 were without occupation. Only 4 of the men had attended a secondary school.

The division according to Classes was as follows :—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Hygiene	44	1	45
German	15	6	21
First Aid to the Injured	57	34	91
Class Singing	15	25	40
French	3	4	7
Esperanto	8	4	12
Drawing	7	4	11
	149	78	227

The apparently too high total number is explained by the attendance of one person at several Classes, which is unusual here, while it is the rule in the Men's Classes, where special courses are always recommended, as for instance in the autumn of 1911 :—

COURSE A.—Commercial (Shorthand, Commercial Arithmetic, English, Book-keeping).

COURSE B.—General (General Arithmetic, Composition, Grammar, History).

The occupations of the students 1911-12 were—Clerks, 24 per cent. ; Commercial, 27 per cent. ; Industrial, 15 per cent. ; Teachers, 10 per cent. ; Various, 12 per cent. ; No Profession, 12 per cent.

¹ See " Regulations made by the Council with Regard to the Education Service, III. Management of Evening Schools ", December 1908.

The average attendance at the Toynbee Classes is given by a summary for 1909-10, which with a nominal attendance of 154 gives an actual average attendance of 83·87.

The distinction between the Men's and the Toynbee Classes was given up in 1913, when women were allowed to join most of the Classes. In the Education Scheme for 1913-14 the Classes in Commercial subjects are no longer included, as Toynbee Hall has held aloof from the reorganisation of the London Evening Schools by the London County Council. To-day the following Classes are in existence, the numbers being those of students registered :—

English Literature	11	Schools of Painting	12
English Literature (Extension Course)	35	Drawing and Sketching	16
English (Grammar and Com- position)	13	Industrial History	24
Elementary German	35	Women's Class in Industrial History	11
Advanced German	7	English History	15
Elementary French	29	First Aid (Men)	22
Intermediate French	22	First Aid (Women)	28
Esperanto	12	Infant Care	21
Schools of Architecture	13	Gymnastics	15
		Vocal Music	34

The speciality and the peculiar value of the method of instruction of Toynbee Hall does not lie in these Classes themselves. Though in the present condition of instruction in England private initiative is indispensable, yet the more advanced circles (and Toynbee Hall was ever a leader in questions of instruction and education) begin more and more to recognise that all these more or less unsystematic private undertakings, differing widely from each other, had better be replaced by an organisation conducted uniformly, on broad lines, by the State or the community. This explains the remarkable decrease in the interest shown by the Residents in the work of instruction, of which the chief proof is the fact that they

themselves take hardly any part now in the Classes. Also they share very little in the affiliated Clubs; in fact, this part of the work done in Toynbee Hall has lost its former character.

Originally the Classes were more than an institution for the imparting of knowledge. They were meant to form a neutral ground on which members of the different classes, intellectual and manual workers, were combined in a common activity, giving and taking, and the numerous affiliated Societies and Clubs served this purpose better even than the Classes themselves.

Every member of a Class has access to a common clubroom, in which they meet before or after the lesson for games or reading. Social and Musical Evenings, Whist Parties, etc., are often held, and a Swimming Club is open to every one. Annual sport competitions and an annual common dinner help to strengthen the feeling of mutual relationship among people brought together from such different atmospheres by the same desire for information.

All over 16 can, on payment of a shilling a year, be received into the Toynbee Students' Union, which forms a closer bond for those who wish to take a lasting part in the social life of Toynbee Hall. Social Evenings in winter, Excursions and Garden Parties in summer, are the leading features in the programme. The administration lies in the hands of the members themselves.

In addition, there exist a number of smaller societies in which the students are grouped according to their inclinations. A short summary may give an idea of the many-sidedness of the interests pursued here, true to the educational ideal that all who share in the work of Toynbee Hall bring with them from the old Universities, which do not aim so much at preparing for a profession, as at imparting an education which shall embrace and ennoble the whole of life.

There is a "Toynbee Natural History Society", with a botanical, geological, and zoological section; all through the year excursions are organised, and every month meetings, combined with lectures and exhibitions, take place. Membership, 120 (1913).

The "Toynbee Travellers' Club", which was under the Presidency of Canon Barnett, enabled its members to travel abroad at cheap prices. Its connection with Toynbee Hall was for many years only a loose one, but the example of this Club, whose existence in the end depended solely on the personal relations of the members, shows what strong bonds of friendship on the ground of common work are forged in Toynbee Hall. Throughout the year lectures were held with a view to give an idea of foreign conditions. In consequence of the decrease in membership, it was decided in 1913 to dissolve the Club.

There also exists a "Toynbee Workmen's Travelling Club", which is actually recruited from present members of the Classes, that is to say, for the most part from working-men, and makes a trip every year from Maundy Thursday to Easter Day; in 1910 they went to Belgium, in 1911 to France (especially to Namur and Liège), in 1912 to Amiens, in 1913 to Ghent. The cost must not exceed £2. Besides, every fortnight interesting places in London and its neighbourhood are visited. Membership, 60 (1913).

A Rambling Club was formed in 1913, which organises walks in and about London. It has nearly one hundred members of both sexes.

Interest in the past, which in England is alive also in the lower classes, is satisfied by the "Toynbee Antiquarian Society", which organises monthly lectures and excursions. Membership, 151 (1910).

The "Toynbee Shakespeare Society" meets once a week to read and study Shakespeare. Lectures are held, and a yearly performance (1910, *The Tempest*; 1911,

Love's Labour Lost; 1912, *Julius Cæsar*; 1913, *As you Like It*) makes this Society perhaps the most popular one in Toynbee Hall. The performance generally has to be repeated, and it is certain that the large lecture hall, which for these days is turned into a theatre, will be crowded. Though the East Londoners do not always succeed in their representation of Royalty, yet they largely make up for their defects by an enthusiasm which gives to the performance a value far exceeding that of a mere entertainment. To get completely outside the life of to-day, to transplant themselves into a more beautiful world, into a life on a larger scale, surely means for those concerned one of the greatest experiences of the year. Membership, 39 (1913).

For many years there was a very active Elizabethan Literary Society, established by Frederick Rogers,¹ but in 1913 it left Toynbee Hall and found a new home at King's College, Strand.

The "Toynbee Art Students' Club" makes high claims on the exertions of every individual member. Once a month the members meet, every one brings the artistic results of the last four weeks, and candid criticism is practised. In summer, twice a month, excursions are made with a sketch-book; visits to Art Galleries and Studios occupy the winter. Lectures also are held occasionally. An annual competition takes place, and the name of the fortunate victor is inscribed in gold letters on a board in the Club Room. In 1909 for the first time a public exhibition of works of members of the Club was held in the Whitechapel Art Gallery (see below). Membership, 90 (1912).

A welcome assistance is afforded to the Toynbee Students by a Library of 7000 to 8000 volumes, which is another proof of the interest taken on all sides in the Settlement work; for the books are for the most

¹ Cf. Frederick Rogers, *Labour, Life and Literature*, pp. 157, etc.

part gifts of friends of the Movement, authors and editors. Mrs. Morris gave, after the death of her husband, some valuable editions of the Kelmscott Press, so that now these treasures, of which a book-collector would be proud, are at the disposal of every East End working-man. Most of the books are scientific. Though in the first instance intended for the students of the Evening Classes and University Extension Lectures, yet their free use is open to everybody over 16 years old. Formerly over 700 books were often issued in a month, but since a Public Library has been opened close by, the circulation has considerably declined. Yet from October 1906 to February 1907, for instance, 1364 books were issued to 692 readers. Since then no statistics have been taken, but it is to be supposed that the circulation remained at about the same level. It must not be forgotten that the Library can never be replaced by a Public Library, in so far as it is meant above all to serve earnest study under the instigation and direction of the men in whose hands the instruction in Toynbee Hall lies.

The Library has gained an entirely new importance through its having been placed in 1912 at the disposal of the Workers' Educational Association. The Association feels more and more the want of a Central Library out of which, in case of need, books could be lent for purposes of study to students of Tutorial Classes. The Toynbee Hall Library forms the nucleus of such a Central Library, which has been in use since 1913.

2. UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN TOYNBEE HALL

It is one of the glories in the history of Toynbee Hall to have served as a pioneer in the University Extension Movement. University Extension, that is to say, courses of lectures outside the University but under its direction, have existed in connection with Cambridge since 1873.

London was at that time not yet a teaching University, but only a centre for examination, and therefore "The London Society for the Extension of University Teaching", in which Educational Institutes of the capital as well as the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London took part, was formed in 1875. In 1876 its activity began under special committees in various districts, and as early as 1877, that is to say, seven years before the founding of Toynbee Hall, the Movement took root in Whitechapel. On October 14, 1877, a committee consisting of Oxford graduates, clergy of the neighbourhood and representatives of the working-men met there, and on the following day sought by a public meeting, where Canon Barnett appeared as a warm advocate of the Movement, to win wider sympathy for the cause. Next day courses began in the London Hospital Medical School in Physiology, Electricity, Political Economy and History. At that time the enterprise bore the character of a daring experiment. The number of students was small, but the enthusiasm of Canon Barnett and those like-minded with him, amongst whom was Frederick Rogers, overcame the difficulties of the first years, in each of which four courses were held; but from the very beginning there was a difficulty in reaching the working-men.¹ The formation of societies among the students for the deepening of study (Adam Smith Club, Elizabethan Society) proved the seriousness of their interest. From 1881 the courses were held in St. Jude's School.

When Toynbee Hall was founded the intention from the outset was to form a lasting home for the London University Extension Society within the walls of the Settlement. He who lives in Toynbee Hall

¹ Cf. Frederick Rogers, *Labour, Life and Literature*, p. 82: "All of us who had worked for University Extension hoped for a large response from the working-classes. It did not come. Our four classes brought us a hundred students, and twelve were workmen".

to-day and sees the University Extension Lectures in a modest place in the great programme of work no longer understands the part they played in the plans and hopes of the Residents of that day. It was a lovable and only too intelligible limitation of those who owed the best of their spiritual possession to the old Universities, that they expected wonders from the fact that these now at last opened their treasures unreservedly and, forgetting their traditional aristocratic exclusiveness, offered their wares to any one who wished to take them. They dreamed of Toynbee Hall as the nucleus of an East End University, and in an article in the *Toynbee Journal* (the organ of the Movement) of April 1886, "Extract from a letter from Boston, May 23, 1932", this vision is lovingly depicted: "The old Hall still stands, but around it has been built a circle of University Buildings, with dwellings for 400 students, mostly clerks and workmen from the co-operative factories of the neighbourhood, who usually come here at the age of seventeen and remain six years. The six-hours' day (!) leaves time enough for study, and many have here laid the foundation of literary and political glory. No one is so poor that he cannot afford the College education; the living is very simple and the food chiefly vegetarian. Forty professors and tutors belong to the University. The tutors are for the most part employed in the same factories as the students, while the entire time of the professors belongs to study. The most different branches are attended to, but a course on Citizenship is obligatory, and Political and Social Science stand in the first rank. Most of the positions in the offices for Statistics, Trade and Agriculture are occupied by the students of the University of East London. A little Gothic Chapel serves for the worship, every evening, of a religion of humanity, in which every one shares and in which music plays a large part. Mendelssohn is the favourite composer".

It is very remarkable that at that time such a Utopia could be designed which to-day would not enter the dreams of the most extravagant visionary ; but then it did not lack a real basis. In 1888 at the Whitechapel Centre one hundred lectures were given to over four hundred listeners, of whom by far the majority were men and women teachers and clerks ; but in addition to these an increasing number of workmen were attending. In 1885 *The Toynbee Journal and Students' Union Chronicle* was established ; the paper, however, came to grief after a year. In 1887 Wadham House, a Home for Toynbee Students, was formed, and in 1891 followed the opening of Balliol House, which was to serve the same purpose. The one contained eighteen, the other thirty-six rooms. Each was conducted independently by a committee of its own, and offered to young men, besides the immediate neighbourhood of a centre of instruction, the economical and social advantages of housekeeping in common. The charge for board and lodging for a week is from 18s. to 19s. (the weekly rent is 8s. 6d.), in which the daily midday meal is not included, since each one takes it where he is employed during the day. For the average workman under present conditions this approach to College life is an unattainable luxury, and the inhabitants actually belong, with rare exceptions, to the lower middle-class.¹

¹ The yearly report of the *Whitechapel Centre* for 1890-91 states : "The Students' Residences at Wadham and Balliol Houses, in connection with Toynbee Hall, now contain over forty residents. The promoters hope that in time they may show the way to the formation of a College, giving something like a University life for those whose days are occupied in business. At present they are content with a more modest programme : to give to would-be students special opportunities of study, as well as the advantages and economies of common life. It is in contemplation to appoint a tutor in certain subjects, so that any individual student wishing to study may obtain something analogous to the teaching given at Oxford and Cambridge. Among those who are or have been in residence are schoolmasters, clerks, artisans, civil servants and medical students". However, they were contented with the more modest programme.

They have to-day little connection with Toynbee Hall. For lack of Residents Balliol House was given up in 1913.

The price of attendance at a University Extension Course was 1s. (until 1883, 3s.); hence, as can easily be supposed, the courses required support from subscriptions as well as from the Central Society. In 1889-90, for example, in a year with one of the highest attendances (1198), £214 were paid by the students, £120 by the Central Society, and £53 was contributed in subscriptions. The lecturers received £280, in addition to which were other expenses. All the courses were not held in Toynbee Hall; since the students came from widely separated districts, it was desirable sometimes for the Lectures to be held elsewhere (Poplar Town Hall, Limehouse Town Hall, Lolesworth Club). From 1889-90 the students were divided as follows: East London, 52·11 per cent.; South East London, 6·8 per cent.; North London, 18·4 per cent.; other districts, 22·69 per cent.—a sign that all parts of London were not yet equally provided with University Extension Lectures.

The ensuing years did not correspond to the hopes which this brilliant opening had awakened. In vain did the organisers rack their brains how to win a wider public of working-men. Also, apart from this, little was to be seen of the development into a People's University. From 1898 the number of students began to diminish. If we look for the reasons: the undertaking had lost the attraction of novelty, other centres had arisen and drew part of the students to them; the Evening Classes at Toynbee Hall itself were rivals, since many of the working-men who lacked the most necessary preparatory training were specially anxious to supply these defects. But the chief reason is this: of the enthusiastic founders of the Movement one after another had fallen away, their successors had other interests, and it is evident that if

one wishes to win the people to efforts after education, it is not enough to place institutions at their disposal, but that results are only to be obtained in so far as the work is done by believing and enthusiastic supporters of the cause. In 1900, at the instigation of Canon Barnett, a very considerable innovation was introduced. The Lectures were, as is customary in Oxford and Cambridge, combined with Classes, that is, after every Lecture a discussion took place on the matter under consideration, and in connection with this, subjects were given out for work at home, a more thorough, and, for pupils who are not accustomed to independent work, distinctly suitable method.

But even this could not prevent the reaction, and in 1902 the attendance was so small that it was suggested the Lectures should be given up altogether. In the same year, however, the Movement in London entered upon a new stage; the University had been extended into a Teaching University, and hence the reason for the existence of the "London Society for the Extension of University Teaching" had disappeared. It dissolved itself and placed its work in the hands of the University of London. This also gave a new impulse to the work at Toynbee Hall. For the autumn term, 1903, courses were announced in the Humanities, and beyond the bounds of London the new undertaking was watched with interest. One Course bore the title of "Evolution of Human Society", and was to furnish a description of the development of mankind from barbarism to civilisation. A second treated of Modern Literature in its relation to the Social Life of the day. In informal gatherings the subjects were to be discussed more fully between pupils and teachers. The prospectus stated: "Englishmen and foreigners who have a common admiration for great literature or great deeds; workmen and capitalists, who can think together, learn to realise their

common humanity. Men and women may be trained to earn money, to increase wealth, and to think accurately ; but they will reach joy only through the knowledge of others' thoughts and through sympathy with their deeds ". The attendance was not very numerous, that of working-men being particularly small, but the crisis was past. Henceforward there has been no more talk of giving up the Lectures ; but they keep within modest limits. Since 1906 they, like the Evening Classes, receive the support of the London County Council in accordance with the following resolution conveyed in the already quoted letter of July 16 : " That a grant of £50 be made to the Council of the Universities' Settlement Association in aid of each full course of University Extension Lectures at Toynbee Hall, consisting of twenty-five Lectures and Classes, provided that no more than three such aided courses be held during any session, and provided that the subjects and lectures be approved by the Education Committee ".

Thus the maintenance of the Lectures is assured. That they, in common with the Toynbee Classes, receive a grant from the Board of Education has already been mentioned.

The attendance in 1910-11 was as follows : Total number of pupils 116, of whom 64 were men, 52 women. Of the men 14 were (skilled) workmen. The irregular employment of the unskilled workmen in the East End keeps them from attending the courses, which demand more regular co-operation than the Evening Classes, and where especially home work is expected. Eleven of the men were clerks, 14 teachers, the rest belonged to the most varied callings. Of the women, 26 were teachers, 14 unmarried without occupation, 2 working-women.

The subjects of the courses were " Social and Industrial History of England in the Nineteenth Century ",

“ Geography ”, “ Natural History ”. With twenty-five Lectures and Classes they extended over three terms. The first-mentioned subject formed the second part of a three years’ course on *The Evolution of British Society*—(a) “ The Social History of England from the Middle Ages to the Present Day ”; (b) “ The Social and Industrial History of England in the Nineteenth Century ”; (c) “ The Worker and the State ”.

For each course a printed abstract is published, which, besides a list of books for reference, contains a concise summary of the material treated in each Lecture, and themes for home work. Whoever gives in the requisite number of eighteen satisfactory tasks is admitted to a final examination, after passing which he receives a certificate. After attending for three years with success at such a general course, and one year’s work at a special subject, he can submit himself to an examination, on passing which he is rewarded with a diploma from the University. These regulations came into force for the first time for the year of study 1911-12. It remains to be seen what use is made of them.

In 1912-13 there were three University Extension Lectures (“ British Constitution ”, “ Cities and Ages of India ”, “ History of Colonial Expansion ”), the first of which was sessional, the other two terminal. Interest in these Lectures, is, however, diminishing.¹

If thus, in spite of all difficulties, the University Extension Lectures have maintained themselves in Toynbee Hall, yet they are being overtaken by a new development. In 1912 the Settlement entered into a closer connection with the Workers’ Educational Association; and a Tutorial Class was started there which proved so successful that it was possible to organise a second class in 1914.

¹ The fate of the University Extension Movement in Toynbee Hall can only be made wholly clear in Excursus I.

3. OTHER ATTEMPTS AT EDUCATION

Classes and systematic Lectures make demands on the time and perseverance of those attending them to which not every one can respond. Their aim is to teach people to think and to lay a solid foundation of knowledge. As to their scope they are limited to a fixed number of defined subjects. By this their powers of attraction are marked out : they never reach the large mass of people, and they at most teach indirectly how to consider the questions of the day more conscientiously. Other arrangements fulfil these aims in Toynbee Hall.

"Smoking Debates" serve for political enlightenment. One evening a week a debate takes place upon some political problem of the day, attended almost exclusively by men. It is always introduced by an authority on the matter concerned, or by two members of opposite views. The themes in 1911-12 were : "The Present Labour Unrest", "The Nationalisation of Railways", "The Value of War", "The Increase of Officialism", "The House of Lords' Reform", "Home Rule", "The Social Tone", "National Military Service", "Church Disestablishment", "Women's Suffrage", "Anglo-German Relations", "Imperialism", "Immorality of Politics", "Medical Aspect of the Insurance Bill", "Adult Suffrage", "Minimum Wage in the Coal Trade", "That the Present Party System is Detrimental to the Highest Interests of the Nation", "Unemployment", "Work and Wages", "Profits and the Wage Fund", "Housing", "Is it Expedient to Increase the Grounds for Divorce and Extend Facilities to the Poorer Classes?" "The Land Question". The average number of those attending was 250. The English working-man is a passionate and not unskilful extempore speaker, and the discussion is always a very lively one. Its value, however, must not be overestimated. It is assuredly to be desired

that the worker should receive information on political questions not only from the Press of his own party, but from the mouth of members of all parties (here also Toynbee Hall is strictly neutral), and that an opportunity should be given him of expressing himself in a non-party atmosphere. But, on the other hand, much debating has its shady side. Public speaking is, above all, for the untrained brain which has no self-control, a temptation to the opposite of what is aimed at, *i.e.* superficiality. He gets accustomed to bring forward arguments which are full of effect, instead of searching for the truth ; to reduce everything rashly to a definite form ; and lastly he adopts in his mind also these habits of a speaker. There are only black and white for him, for shades do not suit the platform.

A place like Toynbee Hall cannot help, very unwillingly, attracting to itself a band of such people, who never miss a debate, always say the same thing and substantially determine the tone of the discussion. The only thing which can be done to prevent it is to keep the opening speech as much to the point as possible, and by its treatment of the subject to guard against the discussion running off the track in the direction of the usual common-places on Capitalism, Socialism, etc.

More honest efforts at knowledge are found generally in the "Current Events Club", now called "The Students' Discussion Circle" ; a Resident gathers round him a small number of men one evening a week and speaks with them quite informally about the newspaper reports of the last week. Success naturally depends entirely on his tact, skill and knowledge ; but here one really feels the desire of every individual to understand clearly, and many a man who would never speak in a debate shows himself a zealous thinker-out of social problems.

The Saturday Evening Lectures address themselves to the widest public of all. They are kept as popular as

possible, and are often made more entertaining by Lantern Pictures. The number of those attending reaches 200. Geographical topics are dealt with by preference, but subjects in all other departments are included.

Lastly, on Sunday evenings discussions on religious questions take place. As is intelligible, they create most difficulty. The consequence of a badly chosen subject, or a want of skill on the part of the introducer, may easily be that the debate becomes highly unpleasant and does more harm than good. In these discussions, however, the tone has become decidedly better in the course of years, which is to be attributed partly to the educational influence of Toynbee Hall, partly to the altered position of the working-classes in general towards religious questions, of which more will be said later. Religion is no longer refused on principle as an invention of mystery-men for the purpose of making the people stupid and slavish, and at times one hears, from a side where perhaps one hardly expected it, touching confessions. But here also one has a general impression that the debaters are not at their best, that the fact of public speaking lowers their level of thought, and if one has an opportunity later of speaking with them alone, one is astonished to hear often quite different views from those which they expressed a few minutes before on the platform. In general, experience shows that the evening promises to be a success if the introducer is a man of deep personal faith, whatever form this may take. A lecture lacking in warmth always means a failure. It is not as if it was the aim of these evenings to convert ; but the earnestness and importance of the problems is only grasped if they are brought forward by a believer.

The themes in 1911-12 were—"Newman", "Equality", "Hypocrisy—What is it?" "All Saints and All Souls", "Faith's Best Guardians", "The Incapacity of Western Nations for Religion", "Religion

and Nationalism ", " Bahaism—A Universal Religion ", " Morals and Dogma ", " The Religions of Ireland ", " God and the Existence of Evil ", " The Mystical Side of Religion ", " Nero and St. Paul ", " The Character of a Man ", " What Should the Term ' A Jew ' Mean ? " " A Serious Feature of Modern National Life ", " The Teaching of Carlyle ", " St. Augustine ", " The Gospel of Robert Owen ", " Moral Education in Schools ", " The Outlook on Life of William Blake ". In the summer free discussion is the rule. The subject is not previously announced ; the opening bears the character of a conversation rather than a speech ; the debate is not carried on from the platform. The whole has a more intimate touch, and the discussion loses its polemic character.

Here a word must also be said on the relation of Toynbee Hall to Art. The educated Englishman stands at a very high level of æsthetic culture, which rests on a solid basis of centuries of tradition, and it is no accident that the regeneration of Decorative Art proceeded from England as a reaction against the imagination and taste-killing effect of modern industrial products. Here, too, Ruskin's name signifies a programme. His artistic sensibility was most deeply offended by the increasing ugliness of the surrounding world. He saw the atmosphere darkened by the smoke of innumerable chimneys, one beloved landscape after another taken possession of by industry, and with the sternness of the prophet who may be one-sided, because he speaks out of inner necessity, he declared war on the age of machinery, and preached with burning zeal the gospel of beauty. But it was beauty not as the privilege of a refined enjoyer, but as a necessary element of every existence worthy of man. It is well known with what contempt he treated a factory owner who had built for his workmen houses hygienically perfect, but bare and bald, as if the only thing that

mattered was the health of the body and not that of the soul. In the Ruskin Museum in Sheffield he has himself borne most impressive witness to the meaning which he ascribed to Art in the life of the nation. A great part of this "Institute for Popular Education" is taken up by paintings, copies and casts of specimens of Sculpture and Architecture, and strikingly beautiful prints; and it is remarkable how he has handed over, as his most precious treasure, the secret of his love experience, under the symbol of a series of copies from masterpieces of Carpaccio, which depict the life of St. Ursula, from the conviction that he alone can help the people who is ready to give the best of his soul and of his heart. Never was his time too valuable for him to give lessons in drawing to working-men, and his friends, especially William Morris, followed his example in this respect.

At Toynbee Hall this tradition has been adhered to. Even before the foundation of the Settlement (since 1881), Canon Barnett, in his capacity as Vicar of St. Jude's, organised exhibitions of pictures, and he and his wife had quietly incurred the reproach that they preached the gospel of pictures and parties. Later the undertaking became more and more a part of the work of Toynbee Hall. With surprising willingness (an evidence of the wide circle over which the influence of social idealism extended) year after year at Easter the most valuable pictures were lent by artists, as well as private owners, for a few weeks to the East End. The working-man does not go, at least on his own initiative, to the National Gallery or to the Victoria and Albert Museum. Therefore one must give him the opportunity of seeing Art next door, near enough for a visit in the dinner-hour. The success was astonishing. In the short time of twenty to thirty days, during which the pictures were to be seen in the not too suitable rooms which were at their disposal, sometimes over 70,000 visitors were counted. An attempt

was made by voting to arrive at an idea of the public taste. Three favourite pictures were to be chosen. A few results may here be given. Those which received most votes were as follows :—

1891

1. BURNE JONES, " Legend of the Briar Rose ".
2. LEADER, " The Ploughman Homeward Plods his Weary Way ".
3. FRANK DICKSEE, " Redemption of Tannhäuser ".

1892

1. BRITON RIVIÈRE, " Requiescat ".
2. BURTON BARBER, " In Disgrace ".
3. BRITON RIVIÈRE, " Una and the Lion ".
4. BURNE JONES, " The Annunciation ".

1893

ADULTS

1. ALMA TADEMA, " Expectation ".
2. LADY BUTLER, " Tel-el-Kebir " (After the Battle).
3. FRANK DICKSEE, " Memories ".

CHILDREN

1. W. D. GALPIN, " An English Flower ".
2. LADY BUTLER, " After the Battle ".
3. LADY BUTLER, " Evicted ".

1894

13,762 votes were given (Adults, 6783 ; Children, 6979).

ADULTS

1. BOURGAIN, " Washing the Deck " (500 votes).
2. SIMEON SOLOMON, " Orpheus " (493 votes).
3. A. HACKER, " The Annunciation " (442 votes).

CHILDREN

1. H. SUTCLIFFE, " Love Crowning Youth " (763 votes).
2. BOURGAIN, " Washing the Deck " (656 votes).
3. SIMEON SOLOMON, " Orpheus " (446 votes).

1895

ADULTS

1. BRITON RIVIÈRE, " War Time " (315 votes).
2. MARCUS STONE, " The Gambler's Wife " (274 votes).
3. TOM M. HEMY, " Burning of the *Kent* " (218 votes).

CHILDREN

1. TOM M. HEMY, " Burning of the *Kent* " (749 votes).
2. VILLEGAS, " Palm Sunday " (556 votes).
3. H. SUTCLIFFE, " His First Lesson " (403 votes).

1896

ADULTS

1. S. E. WALLER, " Home from the Honeymoon ".
2. HERKOMER, " Our Village ".
3. LADY BUTLER, " To the Front ".

CHILDREN

1. BURNE JONES, " St. George and the Dragon ".
2. S. E. WALLER, " Home from the Honeymoon ".
3. BURNE JONES, " The Golden Stairs ".

The result shows that the preponderating interest proceeds from the subject matter, and that a lively feeling is excited by an effective representation that displays a grasp of actual facts. The unanimity which prevails between the taste of adults and of children (where these differ it generally happens in favour of a picture especially appealing to the childish circle of ideas) confirms the observation that judgment is not given on the ground of a purely artistic standard.

A conclusion as to the lack among the lower classes of the power of artistic perception would be unjustified. It is confirmed by the experience of long years that these votes give no clear picture of the taste of the Art enthusiasts of East London. In talking with individuals, and in the observation of the public before the pictures,

the impression is very much changed in its favour. The working-men appear then not only as highly impressionable, but also as showing for the most part a perception of pure Art which is capable of development.

Let it be noticed as a characteristic of the voting that the votes of the adults are in by far the greater number those of men. The pictures exhibited show the greatest variety. Not only modern painters like Watts (who sent a number of pictures nearly every year), Burne Jones, Rossetti, Millais, Holman Hunt, Alma Tadema, Herkomer, Leighton, Ford Madox Brown, but also Constable, Turner, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Lawrence, Van Dyck, Rubens, Botticelli, Van Eyck, Murillo, to quote a few of the best, were represented. A catalogue with short explanations made comprehension easier. Residents of Toynbee Hall and others acted as guides to the Exhibition.

The great success of these exhibitions suggested the idea of founding a Picture Gallery and thus ensuring the lasting existence of the undertaking on a broader basis. But it cost many years of most self-sacrificing efforts, especially on the part of Mr. and Mrs. Barnett, before the plan could be put into operation. In 1890 the idea was mentioned for the first time in the *Toynbee Record*, the organ of Toynbee Hall. In March 1901 the Whitechapel Art Gallery was opened, and in the following six weeks was visited by over 200,000 men. It lies a few minutes from Toynbee Hall, near a Public Library, in the midst of the slums. Henceforward one may almost say that Whitechapel plays a part in the Art life of London. Thus, in the winter of 1902, the first great Exhibition of Scottish Artists took place there, and in 1903 an International Exhibition of Modern Poster Art, such as the Metropolis had not seen since 1893. Mr. Asquith, Mr. John Burns, Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, and other well-known men opened the exhibitions, in which the Press showed an intense interest. The great Galleries

place their treasures at its disposal, whereby private generosity also receives a fresh impulse. Besides Picture Exhibitions, others are also held which illustrate the products of foreign countries, supplemented by numerous Lectures. By these the popularity of the Gallery is increased: during the last three years over a million visitors were counted; the entrance is free.

Again and again it is emphasised, in face of exaggerated hopes on the one hand and mocking criticism on the other, that Whitechapel cannot be changed by Art Exhibitions alone. Yet the new element of beauty which has thus entered into the existence of many furnishes an aid and an incentive to living a truer life. It forms a bridge between the working-class, separated from the culture of the past and the present, and the spiritual life of all times, so far as this has found a pure and condensed expression in the works of the Art of Painting.

IV. CLUB LIFE

Clubs are the ground on which human contact with the working-class is most completely achieved within the limits of the Settlement work.

Since the Men's Clubs connected with the Settlement have as a rule grown out of the Boys' Clubs, we must consider these at the outset.

When the first Boys' Clubs were founded can hardly be established; for wherever a philanthropist collected a few poor boys round him we have the beginning of a club. We can, however, only speak of a Club Movement since the eighties; it owes its origin to the same wave of social spirit which called the Settlement Movement into life. Clubs quickly increased, and in 1908 seventy-eight Boys' Clubs (beside the numerous Clubs of the Church of England) were enumerated, of which twenty-nine

are in London.¹ Some 25,000 boys belong to the Clubs.

The first intention in the founding of the Clubs was to keep the boys of the lower classes away from the street and the public-house, after leaving school, by putting at their disposal decent rooms and offering them an opportunity for games and amusement. But very soon it was seen that a fruitful Club life could not be permanently built on this alone, and the Institution gradually developed into the many-sided system of education which it presents to-day.

But to-day, as always, indoor and outdoor games form the centre of Club life. They are the chief attraction for the boys. The favourite indoor games are billiards and chess for the seniors, draughts and dominoes for the juniors; and though these games serve only for amusement, yet if peace, order and fair play are maintained, an educational value is contained in them. Playing for money is of course strictly forbidden; mere games of chance are not looked on with favour, all the more because they furnish an opportunity for betting which has become almost a national vice in England. Cards are usually forbidden, at the most whist and cribbage are permitted.

Side by side with indoor games go indoor sports, especially wrestling and boxing. As for boxing, I cannot get over the impression that it is a barbaric sport, though its supporters assure us that the very existence of some Clubs, especially where rough boys are dealt with, depends on boxing, and that no bad influence is to be traced to it. Thus the Annual Report of 1890 says, in reference to the "Sydney Social and Athletic Club", founded at the very beginning of the work of

¹ The numbers are taken from a not quite complete enumeration in *Working Lads' Clubs*, by Charles E. B. Russell and Lilian M. Rigby (Macmillan & Co., London, 1908).

Toynbee Hall (November 1884): "When we began boxing it was looked upon as brutal, degrading and fit only for the public-house. Many who thought so then have since changed their opinion. . . . On no single occasion through four years' close attendance has the writer seen a boxer lose his temper". That sounds hardly credible; for a boy, especially when he is uneducated, will lose self-control if he receives a blow in the face. Besides, in the last few years the enthusiasm for boxing has greatly decreased, and experience has occasionally shown that even with the most difficult boys more can be done if one teaches them singing, for example.

Among open-air games, football stands at the head; and it has an immense social importance. Here for the first time the boy learns to subordinate his own will to the welfare of the majority. Each has his place and his duty, and woe to him whom an ungoverned temperament, or the ambition to shine, drives out of his proper place. Thus the game becomes a training in discipline, and it considerably helps forward that public spirit without which a Club cannot live. The existence of a Club is only assured if the boys have ceased to regard it as a place where they are agreeably employed, and feel themselves a unity, a social body; if they are proud of their Club and seek to do it credit. From that moment only does the ideal Club begin to be. By matches with other Clubs this *esprit de corps* is further strengthened.

Besides football the far less popular game of cricket is played. Racing and jumping are in favour, and swimming is taught where circumstances permit, but I know of only one Club which is in the happy position of having its own Swimming Bath (in connection with Rugby House, Notting Hill).

An essential feature of each Club is the Gymnasium, where, by regular instruction, under the direction of

trained teachers, a systematic physical culture is aimed at. An astonishingly high average is often reached, in addition to which in most Clubs some distinguished gymnasts will be found. Swedish drill and exercises with apparatus are equally taught.

Besides indoor and outdoor games and athletics, instruction in every kind of handicraft, such as carving, joiner's work, simple working in metals, modelling, as well as in music and elementary subjects, occupy an ever wider space in Club life. The explanation of this development is, on the one hand, that every evening in the week cannot be filled with games and gymnastics without wearying by its monotony, and that it is one of the chief objects of every Head of a Club to find for each boy an attractive occupation; on the other hand, it has been found by experience that if a lad, at the age of about eighteen, feels a wish to attend a Continuation School, he has generally so thoroughly forgotten his elementary education that he cannot follow the instruction. This gap had to be filled, and therefore some Clubs even make attendance at an Evening Class a condition of membership, or they make certain privileges dependent on it, as, for example, sharing in the summer Camp, of which we have still to speak.

This leads to a discussion of the relations between Club and School. The English Elementary Schools are more and more developed in the direction of making them the centre of child life to a degree which may mean a danger to family life if special care is not taken to avoid this result in practice. This tendency is explained by the fact, that for a great percentage of the children of large cities family life in the deeper sense of the word no longer exists, that they are often left entirely to themselves, and that at home they receive impressions which they were better spared. Once the need for child protection on a large scale was allowed,

it seemed expedient for the sake of uniformity to make the school its centre. Therefore classes for children from three years old, that is to say, a sort of Kindergarten, were added to the Elementary School; therefore, in cases where the parents fail, guard is kept over the boys when they begin to earn their living; and therefore an attempt was made to bring the Clubs also into connection with the School. The "School Clubs" were a peculiar speciality of Toynbee Hall. In the Annual Report of 1902 they are actually called "Schools under a more popular name". On leaving school, or even before, the boys are gathered in a Club which also has the advantage that the feeling of comradeship which has developed during the school years forms a strong bond to keep the Club together. These Clubs (examples for Toynbee Hall are the Old Northeyites, the Old Rutlanders', the Old Dalgleishers' Clubs) generally use schoolrooms for a few evenings in the week, a further and important way of making things easier, especially if the means are limited; and teachers often take part in the work of the Club.

One of the greatest events in Club life is the annual Camp. Wherever it can be done the boys are taken, generally at the beginning of August, for a week to the country or to the sea. Thus a recreation is provided which otherwise would probably be denied them for ever, and the city child is given an opportunity of receiving other impressions than those of endless monotonous streets. But more than that: months before the influence of the Camp makes itself felt. It is an incentive to good behaviour, for exclusion from taking part in it is, next to expulsion from the Club, the most keenly felt punishment which the boy fears. It encourages thrift, for every member must provide a contribution, though it be a small one, to the expenses, if for no other reason because the boys, as well as their parents, only rightly

value what has cost them something. Therefore also a Club subscription of a penny a week is always raised.

The Camp itself is an inexhaustible spring of the highest delights of boyhood ; imagine Camp life in tents, cooking, strolling in the fields, making friends with the inhabitants of the nearest village (whereby a new world is opened to the boys), and other pleasures.

In the community life during this period the strongest bond of personal friendship between the boys and their leaders is formed, a bond which, above all the aims set forth in the programme of Club work, gives the latter its deepest importance. Only he who has a heart for boys, and the gift, which does not necessarily go hand in hand with it, of winning their confidence and friendship, is suited for Club work, the very essence of which is a personal relationship with the boys. The spirit which rules in the Club is naturally the most important educational factor, and this depends, in the first instance, on the personality of the Head, even where he, as in very large Clubs with several hundred members, can have no contact with each individual. Many things can only be achieved as the outcome of a purely personal relationship. Here lies the kernel of the disputed question whether the large or the small Club is to be preferred. It cannot be finally decided, for in favour of both much can be adduced. Thus the large Club can become a blessing to many where lack of helpers would make the founding of a corresponding number of small ones impossible. Also it provides a larger field of action for an unusual personality. The small Club, on the other hand, allows of more intimate dealing with individuals. But in the large Club also an effort is made that every member may be known by at least one of the helpers. In the north, that is to say, especially in Lancashire, with Manchester as one of the centres of Club life, the large Club prevails (sometimes with over 500 members), while

in London, the other centre, small Clubs are the rule.

The influence of the Club workers on the boys finds its limits only in themselves ; it can embrace the whole of life. Two points may be especially brought forward : the influence of Club life on the relation to the other sex and to religion. No explanation is needed why the young men of the poor districts have no high opinion of women ; apart from home impressions, the boy witnesses daily in the streets the extreme degradation of women, generally a consequence of the drunkenness so widely spread among the women of the lower stratum of the English proletariat. Acquaintance with girls is made, as a rule, in the street or in inferior dancing-halls. Here lies a great task for the Clubs, which, however, is far from being generally recognised. Much can be done through the medium of an occasional conversation. But in addition to this some Clubs create an opportunity for unrestrained intercourse with girls in decent surroundings, by the organisation of dancing-parties or lecture and entertainment evenings, to which sisters or girl friends may be brought. The mere fact that the young man (this naturally only concerns the older Club members) sees himself confronted by the question whether he will or will not introduce his girl friend into his Club, will perhaps for the first time cause him to think over her worth.

The position of the Clubs in regard to religious questions is naturally extremely varied. Toynbee Hall here also follows out its liberal principles. Others, particularly such as are connected with church organisations, are stricter, and in extreme cases membership of the Club is made to depend on church-going and attendance at the Holy Communion. An entirely unobtrusive deepening of the life of the soul, that is to say, a religious influence in the broadest sense of the word, follows as a matter of

course in the case of most Club leaders, whether they are church people or not, from their attitude of mind. As a rule, also, they recommend the members to attend church, without considering to what denomination the boy belongs. In many Clubs on Sunday an undenominational Bible Class is held (for details see p. 112).

After what has been said it is clear that Club life can be made fruitful in an unlimited number of directions which need not here be mentioned in detail. It can, in fact, embrace the whole existence of the boys and young men, with the exception of family life, and this limitation is strictly preserved; indeed, an effort is made to strengthen the feeling for the family in every way, by constant reference to its importance, by contact with the parents, etc.

But the youth grows into a man, and the Heads of Clubs are then faced by a new problem. Already as far as possible separate rooms are allotted to the junior and senior members. Now the question arises whether young men of twenty or twenty-one years of age can suitably remain members of a Boys' Club. Opinions are divided. The Fairbairn House Boys' Club, attached to the Mansfield House University Settlement in East London, for example, allows its members to remain in the Club as long as they please, while other Clubs set a definite age-limit. In the latter case two possibilities are open of still further caring for the young people. Either a man puts himself in connection with an existing Church or independent Working-Men's Club in the neighbourhood, which receives the outgoing members, or the Heads of the Club found a Men's Club in connection with the Boys' Club, which has repeatedly happened at Toynbee Hall (the Old Northeyites' Social Institute, in connection with the Old Northeyites' School Club, furnishes an example).

The differences between Boys' and Men's Clubs lie

in the nature of the case. With the latter also games and sports occupy the central position ; but the systematic physical and intellectual development ceases. The Club members are left more to themselves, have more or less unlimited self-management, in which the " Protectors " of the Club naturally have a considerable part. Their influence, even more than in the Boys' Clubs, depends on their personality. The majority of the Club members are unmarried, but marriage is not always a reason for exclusion. As in the Boys' Club, so here it might easily be supposed that the more attractive the life of the Club is made, the greater danger may it become to family life. But, at least under good leadership, the contrary prevails. On the one side the Club prevents too early marriage : we see that while otherwise marriages at twenty or twenty-one are not uncommon, Club members hardly ever marry under twenty-five. On the other side the Club never so far replaces family life as to be a hindrance to marriage, and while it accustoms to a regular and social life, it is surely a better preparation for marriage than the public-house.

We cannot here proceed to speak of Girls' Clubs ; they have never existed in connection with Toynbee Hall.

A kind of Club formed by Mrs. Barnett for Factory Girls is the only exception. Some ninety work-girls from three neighbouring tobacco factories, most of whom live a very long way off, come to dinner every day at the Settlement. Each brings her lunch with her, has an opportunity for cooking it, and can get tea at a small charge. After the meal a little dance usually follows, for which one of the girls plays ; a lady is responsible for order and tries to become friendly with the girls. From time to time a general excursion is organised, and in addition the Settlement gives the Club a treat on Christmas Eve.

The Club life of Toynbee Hall, which in earlier years

was a very active one, has seriously fallen off ; interest in educational questions has flagged. One or two of the old Clubs still exists ; their members have mostly become from street boys honourable, more or less well placed men who in order to preserve old friendship meet from time to time in the Settlement. Otherwise there remains only a School Club for boys, the " Old Northey-ites' Club ", with an average membership of about seventy, and connected with a Club for men. Since 1912 a new School Club is in process of formation.

In addition there is a Club founded in 1910 for crippled children, which aims at offering them a little compensation for the joys of childhood which they are obliged to renounce. The membership reaches thirty to forty. Those who can sing practise choral singing. Three times a month a pleasant evening is arranged, with music, tea, cakes, and round games. The badge of the Club is the Blue Bird of happiness from Maeterlinck's fairy play ; the inscription is " Conantes et Gaudentes ".

V. BOYS' EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE CLUB

England is, next to America, the principal home of organisations on a large scale which aim at completing the education of boys in school and home in a direction in which they are mostly deficient. The school on one side, at least in so far as it is a day school, does not extend its circle of work far enough to have a comprehensive influence on the life of boys ; the Elementary School releases its pupils much too early for this. On the other side, even the ideal home is too narrow to satisfy all the needs of growing lads and boys outside their school life. At an age in which the awakening imagination longs for gay pictures, and the young limbs want to try their strength, he is compelled, perhaps for the first

and last time in his life, to occupy himself with books which for the most part appear to him uninteresting and lifeless. And the fragment of the world which he happens to see is, if he belongs to a better class family, tedious or, if he lives in a poor district, full of variety, indeed, but all the more dangerous for his development. The enterprises which are intended to free him from the monotony of the one and the bad influence of the other, are manifold in aim and method, and in many of these Toynbee Hall has actively participated.

Already in the first years of its existence, the Settlement founded a Cadet Corps, but this was given up as being too military. The Cadets are subordinated to the War Office with the intention of forming a school for future soldiers. But military drill often acts as a deterrent to the boys, so that very few of the Cadets enter the Army. Later a Company of the Boys' Brigade belonged to the Settlement.

The Boys' Brigade was founded in Scotland in 1883. In 1912 it numbered over 60,000 members in Great Britain; a similar number belonged to the organisations in the United States, in Canada, Australia, etc. It consists of Companies; each Company must be associated with a Church, Mission, or other Christian organisation, which watches over its religious instruction. Thus the definitely Christian character of the undertaking is assured, and it is also expressed in the rules, which say: "The object of the Brigade shall be the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys, and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness".

The chief means of accomplishing this end are Bible Classes and military training. The boys wear a uniform, and are drilled on military principles. Moreover there are Ambulance Classes, Life-Saving Classes, Athletics, Bands, and Summer Camps. These form, as in the

Clubs, an especially successful part of the programme. In many cases, as in Toynbee Hall, the Company is organised in the closest connection with a Club.

The following statistics (1911-12) give some idea of the work achieved :—

TOTALS FOR UNITED KINGDOM

Companies	1,298
Number of Officers	6,039
Number of Staff-Sergeants	2,235
Number of Boys	55,819
Number of Drills	36,223
Average Attendance of Boys at Drill, from October to May inclusive	42,975
Number of Bible Class Meetings	33,089
Average Attendance of Boys at Bible Class, from October to May inclusive	32,141
Number of Boys who have passed Ambulance Examination	1,949
Number of Boys who have attended Summer Camp	15,271

Total Strength for the World, 2300 Companies, 10,500 Officers and Staff-Sergeants, 105,000 Boys.

The statistics show in the last years a slight but steady decrease, which probably is chiefly traceable to the competition of the Scout Movement, which has a much greater power of attraction. An attempt has been made to meet this by adopting scouting into the programme of the Brigade, and for this the wearing of a Scout equipment has been allowed—evidently as a way out of the difficulty.

Boys can belong to the Brigade from 12 to 17 ; later an effort is made to induce them to enter a young men's Society.

The Boys' Brigade led to the formation of similar organisations which ought to be mentioned here because

the majority of them are supported by Settlements ; they never were allied with Toynbee Hall.

1. In 1899 religious reasons led to the exclusion of a company of the Boys' Brigade, which founded independently "THE BOYS' OWN BRIGADE"; by this designation it was intended to express that theological considerations were inferior to the interests of the Organisation itself, which were regarded as identical with that of the boys. Its object is "to increase pure and upright living among boys, to promote habits of helpfulness, discipline, self-respect, and reverence, and to quicken and sustain among its members a spirit of comradeship, and of consecration to the service of God". The methods as well as the organisation are the same as those of the Boys' Brigade, yet the military appearance is avoided as far as possible. There is only a small membership (1910 : 7 Companies).

2. THE CHURCH LADS' BRIGADE was formed in 1891 with essentially the same aims and methods as the Boys' Brigade, only in closer and more exclusive connection with the Anglican Church. It is intended for boys from 13 to 19 years of age as a means of binding them to the Church. Its method of education, as is already implied in the age limit, which is higher by two years, is somewhat more comprehensive ; it also includes dramatic and scientific societies. The training on military lines plays the chief part next to the religious instruction ; importance is however attached to attendance at Evening Classes. Beside the actual Brigade there exist Church Lads' Brigade Corps for boys from 11 to 14 years of age. The Church Lads' Brigade numbered in 1911, 1363 Companies (England and Wales, 1241 ; Scotland, 9 ; Ireland, 42 ; Colonial, 71) with about 60,000 members.

3. THE CATHOLIC LADS' BRIGADE (formed 1896), the Catholic counterpart of the above, lays, if possible, still greater stress on the religious side of education. It

numbered in 1908, 63 Companies; since then it has not increased to any considerable extent.

4. There also exists a JEWISH BRIGADE with twenty-four Companies.

5. THE LIFE BRIGADES FOR BOYS AND GIRLS serve a similar purpose. They were formed in 1899 as a complement of the Sunday Schools, since the difficulty was realised of extending their influence over the week. The report, 1912, says: "The *raison d'être* of Brigades is to keep a boy in close touch with his Church during the most critical time of his life, which is generally understood to be from about 12 to 18. According to the Constitution, the objects of the Boys' Life Brigade are 'to lead our boys to the service of Christ; to train them for an active, disciplined, and useful manhood; and to promote habits of self-respect, obedience, courtesy, and helpfulness to others, and all that makes for a manly Christian character.' These objects shall be sought chiefly by means of drill—not associated with the use of arms, but with instruction and exercises in the saving of life from fire, from drowning, and from accident". Membership in 1912: Boys, 353 Companies with 14,029 boys and 1315 officers and staff-sergeants; girls, 101 Companies with 3414 girls and 347 officers and staff-sergeants. Total Membership, 19,105.

All the undertakings hitherto sketched have a weakness which stands in the way of their success; they rest upon too narrow a basis, which is determined by religious or military aims, or by a combination of both. Their directors belong to certain circles of interest for which they wish to win the boys; but the boy loves the game of war, not the serious military training. He may be religious, but only in exceptional cases does the Sunday School attract him.

The speciality of the Boy Scout Movement, the youngest of these undertakings, is that it takes no

existing organisation, neither the Army nor the Church, as a starting point, but the boys themselves ; thus its enormous popularity is explained.

Every normal boy is a born Scout, and full of love of adventure, he bears within himself the knightly instinct, at least in embryo, and has the indomitable longing to see his dreams realised. His power of imagination outweighs the knowledge of facts, and thus obliterates for him the boundary between dream and reality. Therein lies the danger of literature, good or bad, which encourages these fancies ; it fills his head with visions from which he longs to free himself by action without finding an opportunity of doing so at school or at home. Besides, in the course of years there comes the unrest of the awakening blood, at an age when the spirit can as yet offer no counterpoise, and the life of the boy is still too incomplete, his character still too unformed for him to find support in himself.

From these needs of boyhood and youth the Scout Movement aims at finding a release, not by suppressing the stirring powers, but by leading them in harmless directions.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty for the educator is to be romantic enough to follow a boy in his world. The strength of the Scout Movement consists in the fact that, unlike any other system of education, it meets the youthful fancy half way, and it is characteristic that its European home is England, the country in which in the most natural way romance is brought into life.

The Movement was started in 1906 in America by Ernest Seton Thompson (the author whose stories of animals have become famous). In 1908 General Baden-Powell introduced it into England, and its organisation and rapid growth is entirely due to him. In 1909 a regrettable division took place, when Sir Francis Vane, a former resident of Toynbee Hall, who had organised the scouts

in London under Baden-Powell, separated from him and, in opposition to certain military tendencies which had made themselves felt in the Movement, collected round him the Peace Scouts ("British Boy Scouts"). These were to represent the idea of an international brotherhood of youth, in pursuance of which Sir Francis Vane has called into being brother organisations in France and Italy. About 20,000 boys belonged to his "Army" in England. In 1912, however, the English organisation broke down through lack of money. Most of the troops joined the Baden-Powell Scouts, while some continue to exist independently.

The appended table gives an idea of the development of Baden-Powell's organisation. In the first year of the Movement, 1908, there existed no central organisation, and therefore no statistics were taken, 1908-10 were the years of rapid growth; a very large increase in numbers in the United Kingdom is scarcely to be expected now.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOY SCOUTS ASSOCIATION

1909

Total number of Scouts and Scoutmasters in the
United Kingdom, 54,914.

Country.	Local Associa- tions.	Troops.	Scout- masters.	Assistant Scout- masters.	Scouts.	Total.
1910.						
England . .	494	3,189	3,242	2,995	81,267	87,504
Scotland . .	...	510	538	511	13,766	14,815
Ireland . .	13	58	56	62	1,651	1,769
Wales . .	46	141	145	139	3,614	3,898
United Kingdom	553	3,898	3,981	3,707	100,298	107,986

Country.	Local Associa- tions.	Troops.	Scout- masters.	Assistant Scout- masters.	Scouts.	Total.
1911.						
England . .	635	3,763	3,433	4,763	94,264	102,460
Scotland . .	...	533	541	689	13,197	14,427
Ireland . .	16	62	57	77	1,589	1,713
Wales . .	82	206	181	264	4,859	5,304
United Kingdom	733	4,564	4,212	5,793	113,909	123,904
Oversea . .	285	182	...	...	37,855	37,855
Total . .	1,018	4,746	4,212	5,793	151,764	161,759
1912.						
England . .	712	4,157	4,055	4,533	107,774	116,362
Scotland . .	190	550	557	640	14,054	15,251
Ireland . .	16	70	93	94	2,318	2,505
Wales . .	79	168	161	185	4,251	4,597
United Kingdom	997	4,945	4,866	5,452	128,397	138,715
Oversea . .	297	894	1,226	1,130	37,408	39,764
Total . .	1,294	5,839	6,092	6,582	165,805	178,479

For the comprehension of the statistics a short glance at the Organisation is necessary.

A boy can be a scout from eleven to eighteen. Six to eight Scouts form a Patrol, at whose head is a Patrol Leader—a Scout who, through voting within the Patrol itself, or by the Scoutmaster, is appointed to this position. Two or more Patrols are joined together into a Troop which is under a Scoutmaster. The latter is the most important personality in the Organisation, the friend and educator of the twenty to thirty or more boys who belong to the Troop. The Troop is the unit of the system. On its good leading depends the success of the whole work, and the chief difficulty is to find enough good Scout-

masters for the rapid growth of the Movement. Also an exaggeratedly strict organisation must be avoided. The Scoutmaster bears the full responsibility; he knows, as no other, his "Boys," who are very diverse in the different Troops, as are the conditions under which the work is done, and therefore he needs freedom of action.

For the same reasons it is dangerous if Troops are organised too quickly from above. Only where a man is found who is familiar with the conditions, and is 'wishful to accomplish true, devoted, and lasting work, is there a prospect of success. There are Scoutmasters, for example, young officials, who go alone or with a friend into a poor district and give their Troop all their free time. These have naturally an absolute power over their boys.

This constitutes a great difference between the Scout Movement and the Organisations already considered; a system of education which rests on military training can more easily manage with mediocre personalities. No Pestalozzi is needed for the parade ground, and if nothing more is achieved with the boys, at least they learn to obey, and to keep their bodies in discipline. But scouting under a bad Scoutmaster is almost worthless child's play. Herein lies danger for the Movement.

An Assistant Scoutmaster can help the Scoutmaster. The Scoutmasters of a district form associations with others interested in the Movement for the exchange of experiences and for mutual help. The centre of the Union for East London is Toynbee Hall. In 1910 there were in East London 38 Troops, with 1380 Scouts, which means the very high average of 36 Scouts to each Troop. The Union arranges competitions between the Troops in swimming, boxing, the construction and flying of models of aeroplanes, or one of the other innumerable skilful resources of Scouts. At Toynbee Hall there has been since 1908 a Troop of varying size (1912, 36 boys), one of the first and best Troops in London. It belongs to

Baden-Powell's Organisation. (The Company of the Boys' Brigade has been given up.)

A representative Committee exists for each province, county, or large town. The centre is formed by a Committee at Headquarters (London), which controls the districts by commissioners. At its head is Sir R. Baden-Powell; the King is Patron and the Duke of Connaught President.¹

The spirit of the Scout Movement finds a clear expression in the duties laid upon the Scout on his entrance.

He who wishes to become a Scout must promise on his honour—

1. To do his duty to God and the King;
2. To help other people at all times;
3. To obey the Scout Law.

This runs in the formula of Baden-Powell:

1. A Scout's honour is to be trusted.
2. A Scout is loyal to the King and his officers, and to his parents, his country, and his employers.
3. A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others.
4. A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, *no matter to what social class the other belongs.*
5. A Scout is courteous.
6. A Scout is a friend to animals.
7. A Scout obeys orders.
8. A Scout smiles and whistles under all difficulties.
9. A Scout is thrifty.
10. A Scout is clean in thought, word, and deed.

¹ In connection with this Organisation a corresponding system of education for girls has been formed. It remains to be seen whether the idea of an idealised Wild West will prove here also of lasting power of attraction. Naturally feminine virtues and skill can be imparted in this form also, but one asks oneself whether the choice of the form is a happy one.

The religious policy of the Movement is laid down in the following sentences :—

1. It is expected that every Scout shall belong to some religious denomination and attend its services.
2. Where a Troop is composed of members of one particular form of religion, it is hoped that the Scoutmaster will arrange such denominational religious observances and instructions as he, in consultation with its Chaplain or other religious authority, may consider best.
3. Where a Troop consists of Scouts of various religions, they should be encouraged to attend the service of their own denomination, and in Camp any form of daily prayer and of weekly Divine Service should be of the simplest character, attendance being voluntary.

Here also the practical carrying out of these rules depends upon the personality of the Scoutmaster.

The Scout uniform has not the severe simplicity and the military appearance of the Brigade uniform, but with its Khaki hat, picturesque necktie, sweater, knapsack, short knickerbockers, and stockings below the knee, makes a little trapper of the boy. In addition, there is a kind of alpenstock without a point. From the shoulder ribbons flutter which mark the Patrol to which he belongs, and badges are fastened on the sleeve which the boy owes to his special capabilities.

Here we come to the question of what the Scout does, and the answer is just everything a boy can do. In the Troop there is room for every one, and every one finds stimulation for his special hobby. Badges are given to the blacksmith, the carpenter, the bugler, the clerk, the cook, the cyclist, the dairyman, the electrician, the

engineer, the gardener, the interpreter, the leather worker, the pathfinder, the photographer, the piper, the printer, the star-man, etc. etc., if he has passed an examination in his acquirements. A single boy can win any number of badges in different departments. An opportunity for the employment of all these talents is found in the rambles through wood and field which form the chief part of the programme in summer and winter. There the boys are accustomed to observe; it is a disgrace for a Scout if any one in his company sees something which he has not already noticed. They learn to know Nature, war-games are organised, cooking is done, and in the evening they gather round the camp fire, tell stories and sing, till in the dark they go home. One can imagine what such a day in the woods means for the boys from Whitechapel. Not much value is placed on military training, but a great deal on prompt obedience.

Side by side with his sports and pastimes many opportunities arise for the Scout to make himself useful. There is the care for the cost of maintenance of the Troop. The twopence which each pays weekly is not enough to finance it. Headquarters has at most money for the cost of organisation, correspondence, etc., the Scoutmaster on many occasions dips his hand into his pocket, but cannot pay for everything, and the Scout may not beg. Thus concerts are arranged, little card-board, fret saw or other works are offered for sale, and with great inventive faculty other means are devised of earning money for the Troop.

But the Scout law especially commands that he shall help others. He therefore makes a knot in his neckerchief which constantly reminds him that at least once every day he must "do a good turn," if he only picks up a child which has fallen down, gives water to a thirsty dog, or removes a banana skin from the pavement, over which some one might have fallen.

Lastly, publicity already makes its claim on the young Scout. Whether it be to fetch delegates to a Congress from the station and pilot them in a strange city, whether it be at a procession or festivity that help is needed for keeping the lines, or for service—the Scouts, smart, ever cheerful, ever ready to serve—are always welcome.

It is wonderful what a good Scoutmaster can make out of even an intractable boy, just because he does not curtail his desires, but simply regulates their growth. Naturally by far the larger number of the boys come from the middle class, but, as the example of Toynbee Hall shows, there are no limits downwards for the Movement.

In this case also, as can be easily imagined, the annual Summer Camp is an especially successful time.

Here the methods of working of Club Leader, Brigade Captain and Scoutmaster meet, who have, as is implied by the nature of their case, many points of contact. It has been mentioned that the Boys' Brigade is beginning to imitate the Scouts, and, on the other hand, is frequently associated with Clubs, while all three movements are being adopted in recognition of their educational value by the schools, if not yet in the measure which could be wished.

But these methods of education of the young are connected with the Settlement Movement by something which is common to them all: they offer a field of work in which all classes of people meet, and they give to the cultured a rich opportunity for the most promising social work, the work on the growing youth.

VI. OTHER SETTLEMENT WORK

The number of undertakings connected with the name of Toynbee Hall is not yet exhausted.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON CONCERTS

Throughout the autumn and winter, Sunday Afternoon Concerts with free admission take place, regularly with an audience of 250, that is as many as the room can be made to hold. The poor come to these concerts as they do to the popular lectures on Saturday Evenings,—members of a class of people which cannot be reached either by classes or ordinary lectures. But they are a grateful public; they are really reverent, and experience has shown that no chamber music is too serious for them, but that worthless melodies from musical comedies cannot hold them for long. The concerts are given by amateurs, who place themselves willingly at their disposal, and for the most part stand on a very respectable artistic level.

PEOPLE'S PALACE MUSICAL FESTIVAL

Far more important is a Movement, at whose head is a resident, which is designed to awaken in every way interest for music in East London. Every single Club, every Social Union it seeks to win, whenever an opportunity occurs, for the practice of choir singing, and once a year a great Choir Festival is held, in which all measure their powers, the "People's Palace Musical Festival".

GUILD OF COMPASSION

The Guild of Compassion owes its existence to Mrs. Barnett's initiative. It was formed in 1898 with the idea of uniting its members in classes and lectures for social work. The effort has one main interest, that the better class of those who frequent the Settlement should be secured for the work of the Settlement, a highly promising idea, but one which came to fulfilment only in a very modest way at Toynbee Hall. The Guild placed before

itself three chief aims: to train domestic servants, to furnish a home for the feeble aged and convalescents, and to give the inhabitants of two Workhouses near Toynbee Hall a few happy afternoons in the open air in the summer. A house was bought in one of the finest positions on Hampstead Heath, quite close to the late Canon Barnett's house, and here, at Erskine House, there is always a number of patients who have been discharged from the London Hospital, the great infirmary for the poor of East London, and are growing strong in the rest and good air before they return home. But even after they have been sent home, as far as possible the Guild keeps in touch with them and gives them help and advice whenever it can. At the same time, girls from the East End are trained at Erskine House¹ as capable domestic servants, and later placed in good houses. The means for this and other work among the poor are derived partly from the contributions of friends, partly from the sale of needlework prepared by the members of the Guild, who meet one evening a week at Toynbee Hall.

TOYNBEE HALL AMBULANCE DIVISION

In connection with Toynbee Hall, moreover, there is a division of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade, an organisation extending over the whole of England for voluntary aid in case of accident. The members belong for the most part to the upper stratum of the working classes. On duty they wear a uniform, and they practise military drill. At public processions, on Bank Holidays, and wherever crowds are to be expected, they offer their services. Toynbee Hall gives them accommodation and financial support. Membership, 1912-1913, 80.

¹ Erskine House was given up in autumn 1913.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

From the beginning the Settlement has helped Friendly Societies in every way. Two, "The United Juvenile Order of the Total Abstinent Sons of the Phoenix", and the Court Garibaldi of the "Ancient Order of Foresters", hold their monthly meetings at Toynbee Hall.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

The same interest was brought to bear on the idea of Co-operative Societies. Several such have been organised from Toynbee Hall, of which, however, only one, the Bass Dressers', still survives. The rest perished for lack of capital.

TOYNBEE TRUST

An essential aim in the foundation of the Settlement was the obtaining of exact knowledge of social conditions, and much work has been done by residents in this direction which is spoken of in no report. Continually one or another of the inhabitants of Toynbee Hall is occupied with enquiries for the benefit of the Government or for private ends.

A few of these reports have been published with the help of the Toynbee Trust, a fund raised by his friends after Arnold Toynbee's death, "for the promoting of the investigation and diffusion of true principles of political and social economy". Its administration was made over to Toynbee Hall in 1892.¹

ENQUIRERS' CLUB

A union of men who are interested in social questions, the so-called "Enquirers' Club", holds its sittings in the

¹ Some of the works hitherto published by the Trust are: *Inquiry into the Unemployed* (published by J. M. Dent & Co., 1896). C. Russell and H. S. Lewis, *The Jew in London* (London, 1900). Hugh R. P. Gamon, *The London Police Court To-Day and To-Morrow* (London, 1907). *Studies of Boy Life in our Cities*, edited by E. J. Urwick, 1904.

Settlement, in which lectures on social problems are given, followed by discussion. Several residents of Toynbee Hall belong to it.

POOR MAN'S LAWYER

The dispensing of free legal advice forms a valuable branch of the Settlement work. In 1899 a Committee was formed to protect poor tenants in Whitechapel and the neighbouring districts, and it is chiefly owing to its activity that their position is considerably improved compared to what it was. But it soon proved necessary not to limit the assistance to poor tenants, and to-day the "East London General Legal Protection Committee" is occupied with legal cases of every kind. Throughout the year members of the Committee offer their services one evening a week at Toynbee Hall. A number of cases, say forty a week, are quickly settled, since they must either be marked down as hopeless, or simple advice is all that is needed. After this sifting, on an average thirteen cases remain, which are submitted to the professional opinion of a solicitor, and if the latter thinks it promising, the solicitor of the Committee brings the case into court.

In 1912, 112 cases were submitted to the solicitor, which may be grouped as follows :—

Landord and Tenant	13
Street Accidents	21
Workmen's Accidents	34
Other Accidents	5
Master and Servant—Dismissal or Wages	6
Debts and Property claimed (including Insurance Cases)	20
Husband and Wife	2
Friendly Societies	4
Moneylenders	1
Sundry	6

In these cases the following steps were taken :—

Redress obtained without litigation	30
Defendant missing or not worth suing	3
Applicant drops the matter	7
Committee, after investigation, refuse assistance	7
Actions won.	53
Actions lost.	12
	<hr/>
	112

According to this, successful help was given in 83 cases, $81\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the actions were won. The clients received through the aid of the Committee over £1300.

ARTS AND CRAFTS SCHOOL

An Arts and Crafts School (The Craft School, 37-39 Stepney Green, London, E.) was founded from Toynbee Hall and is still actively supported by some of the Residents.

CHILDREN'S COUNTRY HOLIDAY FUND

Since the foundation of the "Children's Country Holiday Fund" in the middle of the eighties, Toynbee Hall has taken a prominent part in it. Its aim is to make a fortnight's holiday in the country possible for poor children from London. At the beginning nine children were sent from Whitechapel to the country, to-day there are about 35,000 every year who come from all parts of London. The Organisation leans upon the schools. With the help of a number of voluntary assistants, among whom are the inhabitants of various Settlements, it is decided which children need help most, and how much can be contributed to the necessary expense by their parents, whose consent is then obtained. The keep of each child in the country is 13s. : 5s. is paid on an average by the children ; the rest must be raised

by subscriptions. The children often save for nearly a whole year for this time, and every week put their penny into the Holiday Box. Thus at least 2s. 6d. is collected, which even the poorest can spare for this purpose.

To this work in town is added the heavy task of finding accommodation in the country for all these children, who are distributed among almost all villages within a radius of 100 miles from London.

STEPNEY COUNCIL OF PUBLIC WELFARE

The "Stepney Council of Public Welfare", in the work of which Toynbee Hall has a large share, was founded in order to organise the efforts of individuals who wished to help forward the good of the community. Its activity is limited to the Borough of Stepney. It seeks to influence the Borough Elections, while it supports the candidates who are best suited for municipal administration without any regard to party interests. It furthers temperance efforts. It supports the police in their struggle with drunkenness, vice and gambling. It concerns itself about the organising of charity. It arranges, on a small scale, lectures in support of efforts after social reform. It watches over the carrying out of laws for the protection of workmen in factories, and, finally, by advice and assistance seeks to combat consumption. Since October 1913 the Council has issued an organ called *The Stepney Welfare*, which purposes to give some account every month of the work of the Council, and to deal regularly with all matters affecting public welfare in Stepney.

CHARITY ORGANISATION SOCIETY

Lastly, Toynbee Hall, like most Settlements, puts workers at the disposal of the "Charity Organisation Society". This was formed at the end of the sixties

with a view to organise uniformly the many existing Charitable Societies, an attempt which failed. It is to-day one society among many others, distinguishing itself indeed by the careful enquiries which it makes in every individual case of aid. To-day, however, it does not regard this as its peculiar task, it seeks rather to classify the cases which become known to it, and according to their character to assign them to the respective organisations. Its own activity suffers from the fact that the different districts of London are put under separate committees, and are financially independent, so that here superfluity of means is the rule, and there absolute necessities are wanting. As a way out the formation of a central fund was proposed, but against this it is objected that thereby the temptation to give money is increased, which, according to its principles, the Society should only do in the most necessitous cases.

The Charity Organisation Society is therefore a hybrid whose replacement by a more efficient new organisation is to be expected. Also it stands in the sharpest contrast conceivable to the views prevailing in circles interested in social questions, as, from the reactionary standpoint of the Manchester School, it is on principle the opponent of all State interference. We must, however, not forget the excellent work it does in training social workers and educating them to conscientious research work.

Beside the London Charity Organisation Society there are quite a number of similar societies in other towns, and almost everywhere the Settlements make a practice of giving their assistance.

This ends the description of the activities of Toynbee Hall. It makes no claim to absolute completeness—indeed, every year new branches of work are undertaken, while others die off, often without one's being really conscious of the fact. For a time, perhaps, they remain

on the scheme of work, in order at last to vanish entirely. Thus a constant reformation takes place, and the Settlement will retain its power of attraction and freshness so long as it does not lose touch with the surrounding world and its needs.

VII. THE SPIRIT OF TOYNBEE HALL

The peculiarity of a Settlement in contrast to all other social organisations lies in this that it possesses a *genius loci*, a personal character; that it represents an organism with a soul, such as can only be developed from a community of life, never from an organisation. In it there is formed a tradition, built up out of the ideals, the struggles, the dreams and the work of generations, and every one who is admitted into its fellowship is subject more or less to the influence of its atmosphere.

Toynbee Hall, among all English Settlements, has the best tradition. It has, as no other, grown directly from the sphere of influence of the social idealists, it even forms, at least in its conception, the most congenial attempt at the embodiment of their ideals. Here their challenge to the cultured was fulfilled, not to redeem their responsibilities to the lower classes with money, but to stake their own life. Here practical social reformers were trained who knew from personal experience the evils which they tried to relieve. Here were men who without fear crossed the abyss of class opposition, and, as no one had done before, acted as mediators on either side, destroyed prejudices, and beyond all social conflict set up a common ideal of humanity.

These aims are symbolised in the name which the Settlement bears, the name of a saint in whose personality the whole spiritual world of social idealism is embodied, and has taken a more spotless, more lovable, more

fascinating form than in any of its creators. And who, above all this, was its martyr. Though one may say that it is at least as difficult to live for a cause as to die for it, the actual sacrifice of a life ever works, waking life, recruiting power, as does no deed of a man who still walks under the sun.

This was the inheritance of Toynbee Hall, and it was taken up and administered by a chosen band whom Oxford and Cambridge sent to this outpost in the battle against the misery of those who are crushed under the wheels of the age of machinery. There is no need to mention names here: they all held the cause to be superior to the person, and however many were later called to prominent positions, as members of Toynbee Hall they wished to work without publicity. Only two must be quoted, who bore special responsibility as wardens: Canon Barnett and his successor Mr. T. E. Harvey, who only left the Settlement in the summer of 1911.¹ The best witness for the personality of the founder of Toynbee Hall is his work, over which he presided for twenty years. The main feature of his character was great kindness, with which were combined a keen understanding and a mind for practical realities not usual in a clergyman; the type of man whom destiny places between the prophet and life.—Mr. T. E. Harvey is a Quaker and a disciple of St. Francis of Assisi.

In these hands lay the work for over thirty-five years, and thus the unique tradition could be developed which, more than its age, secures for Toynbee Hall a place of honour in the Movement, and which has made it so strong an educational factor in the life of all who have lived there. It is passed on from man to man; it is incorporated in those who themselves have become part of the history of the Settlement, and who influence the

¹ In 1914 Mr. J. St. G. Heath, Secretary of the Government Land Enquiry Committee, will take over the Wardenship of Toynbee Hall.

younger generation, whether they still live there, or whether they give advice and help as associates. It is laid down in the publications of the Movement, above all in the writings of Canon and Mrs. Barnett, and it has finally taken shape in institutions and methods of work.

This is, next to the spiritual tradition, the second advantage of a Settlement which cannot be too highly estimated: it becomes a reservoir of experiences, and it combines elasticity with stability and duration. The individual has every chance for development; indeed, a strong force is multiplied, because others place themselves at its service. But at the same time every worker is under the control of his fellows. In conversation with them he sees himself constantly compelled to revise his own judgment, he becomes less easily fixed in an idea than an isolated person, and the novice is quickly brought into the right way. Thus full freedom can be given to each to work out a happy idea on his own account; the desire to experiment is curtailed by fear of criticism. If such a personal undertaking proves capable of living, it does not stand and fall with its founder; he finds friends as helpers, as successors.

The whole Settlement work rests on the fact that it is performed by a community of people bound together by similar aims. People liked, especially in the earlier years of the Movement, to compare the settlements with Franciscan brotherhoods, and though this has in the meantime been given up as unwarranted, as none of the three monastic virtues are enjoined on the members of a Settlement, yet the comparison was justified in so far as they must indeed form a sort of Brotherhood if the undertaking is to thrive. He who has the privilege of being received into Toynbee Hall knows that he has entered a circle of friends, to belong to which, entirely apart from social work, means an enrichment of his life.

But how, it must be asked, has this community of

social workers fulfilled the human part of its task, which is designated by the word "neighbourhood idea"? Here criticism has to come in. No doubt much has been achieved, and no reports tell of the friendships which have been formed between members of the Settlement and men of the district, to the advantage of both parties, and of the deeds of love which the residents of Toynbee Hall have done to bless Whitechapel. But they have not understood how to become neighbours of their neighbours. When the Settlement Movement as a whole is criticised, we shall have to discuss how far this ideal is at all realisable under the conditions of life of a Settlement. It need only be said that Toynbee Hall, in contrast to a number of other Settlements, has not grown into Whitechapel in the measure which would correspond to the idea and the hopes of its founders. It is significant that the question of its removal to another part of East London could be discussed. This would certainly mean a loss for Whitechapel, but not many neighbourly associations would thereby be destroyed.

Roughly speaking, Toynbee Hall has become a political Settlement. It has become more interested in questions of public life than in that of individuals. The system of its Classes and the Societies connected with them, which was valuable as a neutral ground on which resident and working-man could meet in common activity, has quite lost this meaning. Hardly a Class is conducted by a member of the Settlement; this work is almost wholly done by paid or unpaid assistants, and Residents take only an occasional part in the Societies for study. This does not only mean that to-day it is believed that the establishment of Evening Classes had perhaps better be left to the County Council, for if the old interest in the education of the individual was still keen, it would find new possibilities of activity for itself. Indeed, Toynbee Hall resolved in 1912 to open its doors to the Workers'

Educational Association, after numerous other settlements had afforded it a good example. But the impetus came from without, through an appeal of Mr. Mansbridge, the founder of the W.E.A., to Canon Barnett, who embodied the old educational ideals of Toynbee Hall, and whom he won over to his plans. Thus the library was placed at the disposal of the W.E.A., and a Tutorial Class was established at Toynbee Hall which, however, is not managed by a Resident.

At the same time, the Club life, which in all Settlements, Missions and similar Institutions has proved to be the best means of educating a new race of men, has so fallen off that probably to-day no Settlement approaching the size of Toynbee Hall does less in this direction.

These facts are most striking and demand an explanation. Life at Toynbee Hall is too varied, the inhabitants change too quickly, for the reason to be found in personalities. Nor does it lie in a decline of enthusiasm, for work is done with similar zeal in the service of new causes. Nor, again, can one speak of a passing tendency, for the condition of to-day is the result of years of development, and there is not the slightest prospect of any considerable change.¹ Thus the only explanation is offered by the spirit of Toynbee Hall, the spirit of the human revival about the middle of the last century, of a feeling of humanity, exalted into religion, which, however, neither drew its power from religion nor was religion itself. It is a fact, the reasons for which are not to be investigated here, that in none of the religious Settlements, which form the majority, has interest in and work among individuals ever failed, and in all of them this part of their activity is the most

¹ This is no longer true, as it is to be hoped that the Settlement will gain under a new Warden. But this, again, would be an influence from without, not a development from within.

successful and forms the basis of everything else. From the beginning Toynbee Hall has stood for the idea of humaneness, avoiding on principle every suggestion of religion ; it has inherited this ideal in its purest and intensest form, and, moreover, has with rare good fortune found excellent helpers. However, it has not been able to keep alive the spirit of brotherly love which takes unlimited interest in the individual, and never asks itself whether it would not be more productive to give one's time to reforms of administration, by which thousands could be helped.

Doubtless men who live face to face with social problems are better fitted for legislative and administrative activity which works at their solution than any official who knows them only in theory. But the question is, whether, from this point of view alone (of course much "human" work is still done at Toynbee Hall), a Settlement is justified. The question is whether it would not be better if the man of means remained in his natural surroundings instead of making his home in the midst of misery and need in their most visible and heart-breaking forms, without fulfilling the evident duties of a neighbour. It is to be expected that the influx of the best into a Settlement will decrease in proportion as it fails in this direction, and those who would have become its strongest helpers will seek other ways for the fulfilment of what they hold to be their duty as men. A Settlement is a colony of members of the cultured in a poor neighbourhood ; this means that the Settlement is indissolubly united with the "neighbourhood idea". It cannot be separated from it without its very essence being destroyed.

PART III

THE SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN

I. DESCRIPTION

THE foundation of similar institutions following quickly one upon another showed that the founding of Toynbee Hall answered a real need, and that the Settlement idea had a strong support in wide circles of the population. Of the forty-five Settlements existing to-day in Great Britain, eleven date from the eighties; twenty-two were opened between 1890 and 1900; and eleven are of later date. The year of the foundation of one Settlement is unknown to me.

EXTENT OF THE MOVEMENT

The following summary gives a picture of the present state of the Movement (1913).¹ There are Settlements in

ENGLAND				SCOTLAND			
Bath	.	.	1	Dundee	.	.	1
Birmingham	.	.	1	Edinburgh	.	.	2
Bristol	.	.	2	Glasgow	.	.	2
Chesterfield	.	.	1				—
Ipswich	.	.	1				5
Leeds	.	.	1				
Liverpool	.	.	2				
London	.	.	27				
Manchester	.	.	1				
Middlesborough	.	.	1				
Stoke-on-Trent	.	.	1				
			—				
			39				

¹ The statements of the *Bibliography of Settlements* are quite misleading.

The following detailed table gives an idea of the number of workers, including the inhabitants of the Settlements (the Residents), as well as the helpers (the non-resident workers):—

Place.	Settlement.	Year of Founda- tion.	R. N.-R. ¹	Resi- dents.	Non- resident Workers.
ENGLAND.					
Bath .	Citizen House (M. & W.).	1913	n.-r.	25	50
Birmingham .	Birmingham Women's Settlement (W. ²).	1899	n.-r.	9	40
Bristol .	Broad Plain House (M. and W. ³).	1890	r.	3 (2 W.)	150
„ .	*University Settlement (W.).	1911	n.-r.	6	100
Chesterfield	Women's Settlement (W.).	1902	n.-r.	2	32
Ipswich .	Ipswich Social Settle- ment.	1904	r.	8	45
Leeds .	Red House Settlement (W.).	1912	r.	7	12
Liverpool .	*Liverpool University Settlement.	1907	n.-r.	13	40
„ .	Victoria Women's Settlement (W.).	1897	n.-r.	8	40
London .	Bermondsey Settlement (M. and W.).	1891	r.	35 (21 W.)	50
„ .	*Cambridge House.	1896	r.	12	45
„ .	Canning Town Women's Settlement (W.).	1892	r.	15	32
„ .	Catholic Settlement, Bermondsey.	1910	r.	6	25 (15 W.)
„ .	*Gonville and Caius College Mission and Settlement.	1887	r.	4	15
„ .	*Lady Margaret Hall Settlement (W.).	1897	r.	14	30
„ .	*Mansfield House.	1890	r.	13	22
„ .	Maurice Hostel (M. and W.).	1899	r.	18 (11 W.)	24 (14 W.)
„ .	*Oxford House.	1884	r.	18	20
„ .	*Oxford and Bermond- sey Mission.	1897	r.	6	10
„ .	Passmore Edwards Settlement.	1896	n.-r.	10	40
„ .	Presbyterian Settle- ment (W.).	1899	r.	5	9
„ .	Ratcliff Settlement (W.).	1907 (1881)	r.	6	10
„ .	Robert Browning Settle- ment (M. and W.).	1895	r.	8 (1 W.)	100

Place.	Settlement.	Year of Founda- tion.	R. N.-R. ¹	Resi- dents.	Non- resident Workers.
ENGLAND.					
London	Rugby House.	1885	r.	5	25
"	St. Anthony's Settle- ment (W.).	1894	r.	6	...
"	St. Cecilia's House (W.).	1899	r.	3	10
"	St. Helen's House (W.).	1896	r.	12	17
"	St. Hilda's East (W.).	1889	r.	16	12
"	St. Margaret's House (W.).	1889	r.	25	10
"	St. Mildred's House (W.).	1897	r.	10	13
"	St. Patrick's Club.	1909	r.	4	1
"	*Toynbee Hall.	1884	n.-r.	20	200
"	*Trinity Settlement.	1899	r.	5	2
"	United Girls' Schools Settlement (W.).	1906	r.	14	50
"	*Wellington College Mission (M. and W.).	1885	r.	8 (4 W.)	about 5 (changing)
"	*Women's University Settlement, South- wark (W.).	1887	n.-r.	16	60
Manchester.	*Manchester Art Mus- eum and University Settlement (M. and W.).	1895	n.-r.	10 (4 W.)	90
Middles- borough	Congregational Women's Settlement (W.).	1892	r.	2	30
Stoke-on- Trent	Women's Settlement (W.).	1897	r.	11	14
SCOTLAND.					
Dundee	Grey Lodge (W.).	?	?	?	?
Edinburgh	*New College Settlement.	1889	r.	7	40
"	*University Settlement.	1905	n.-r.	7	32
Glasgow	*Queen Margaret Settle- ment (W.).	1897	n.-r.	6	150
"	*University Students' Settlement.	1889	r.	12	20
IRELAND.					
Belfast	Women Worker's Settlement (W.).	1902	r.	10	2
		...	...	460	1724

¹ R. N.-R.—The character of the Settlement is religious, non-religious.² W.—The residents are Women.³ M. and W.—There are Men and Women Residents (sometimes living in different houses).

* University Settlement.

According to this, the Movement has at its disposal a band of over 400 Residents and over 1700 Non-resident Workers. This is a good deal if one considers that in most Settlements the Residents are constantly changing ; as a rule they do not stay longer, but often even less, than three or four years.

RELATION TO THE UNIVERSITIES

Only eighteen of these Settlements, *i.e.* hardly more than a third, stand in a direct relation to the Universities, and can be reckoned as University or College Settlements, which naturally does not prevent the others from having a considerable number of University men among their workers. The Movement, as has been shown, originated with the old Universities ; but it had a far-reaching influence, and proves in an impressive manner in what close touch the English Universities are with the life of the nation.

SETTLEMENTS FOR MEN AND FOR WOMEN

It was to be expected that women should take an active share in the Settlement work, and indeed we find twenty-two Settlements inhabited exclusively by women, as against seventeen Men's Settlements, while in six cases men and women are combined in the same Settlement. On the whole there are 246 women Residents, compared with 189 men.¹ Theoretically the mixed Settlement might appear to be the ideal, for only in common work can men and women embrace the whole life of their poor neighbours with their understanding and assistance. In practice, however, many difficulties present themselves, into which there is the less need to enter here in detail, since every one can easily make them clear to himself

¹ In the case of Citizen House, Bath, there is no distinction between men and women in the statistics.

by a realisation of the Settlement life. A great part of the Residents of both sexes would certainly not be ready to live in a mixed Settlement. On the other hand, a case is known in which in such a one practically all the actual Settlement work was done by the women, while the men, chiefly younger people, willingly exchanged the inconvenience of living in a poor district for the release from a lonely bachelor existence. In this case the Head of the Settlement assured me that they would all go away if he were to demand help from them.

If the mixed Settlement is, as a rule, not desirable, yet an effort is made as far as possible to ensure its advantages by attracting women as helpers to Men's Settlements, while the Women's Settlements suitably limit their field of work to their own powers. The ideals and the methods of work are, on the whole, the same in both.

In a certain respect a peculiar position is occupied by several Women's Settlements, which stand in entire dependence on the clergy (as the Roman Catholic Women's Settlements) or form a branch of a Men's Settlement (*e.g.* St. Margaret's House and St. Mildred's House, in connection with Oxford House).

ORGANISATION

It lies in the character of the Movement that it permits no comprehensive organisation, which all too easily might have a paralysing and cramping effect, and lessen the elasticity which the Movement needs in face of the manifold conditions to which it has to adapt itself. Repeatedly, however, the need of a closer touch between the separate Settlements and of an agreement upon certain fundamental problems made itself felt. In answer to this, years ago, repeated attempts were made in London to found a Union whose chief aim should be to arrange regular conferences of the members of all

the more important Settlements. They failed, and by enquiry I have been able to establish the fact that in the Men's Settlements such a general and outspoken objection exists to their repetition that every effort in this direction may be reckoned as completely useless. The inhabitants of the Settlements of the Metropolis are so overwhelmed with work, and especially with an immense number of meetings of every kind, that they shrink from every extra burden, and the more so if its value appears doubtful. As far as they are interested in one another, the annual reports and the notices published every month by a number of Settlements make an acquaintance with each other's work possible, and, lastly, the visit to a particularly interesting undertaking in the same town presents no difficulty. For the discussion of any special problem recourse is had to the specialists who, at any rate in London, exist for every department of the work. Therefore a Settlement Union with the aim of the discussion of Settlement Problems is held to be unnecessary. There was a Roman Catholic Settlement Association in London a few years ago, but its activities were limited to the management of a Club and a Boys' Brigade, and at last it was given up without having been able to start any Settlements.

A Women's Settlement Association indeed exists in London. The publication of a yearly balance-sheet forms the sole condition of belonging to it. It meets about three times a year by turn in each of the Settlements; a lecture on some Social Problem is given, upon which a discussion takes place. The chief value is held to consist in the free exchange of thought between the members of the different Settlements, and in the making the acquaintance of the individual Institutions.

The reasons why the women welcome what the men refuse are not far to seek. The women have in most cases no profession in addition to their Settlement work,

are thus less overburdened, and hail the opportunity of seeing and hearing something else as a pleasant refreshment and change. Perhaps in several cases they are also less familiar with other sources of information.

The state of things in the provinces is quite different from that in London. Here distances make the visit at will to one or another place difficult, and there is a lack of those opportunities so easily found in the Metropolis by which men who have the same interests meet by chance. To get information upon any particular question, especially in a small town, is not always easy, and, on the other hand, the quieter life does not involve the same amount of overwork. Therefore it is not surprising that for about ten years a "Northern Settlements' Association" has existed, to which a large majority of the Settlements outside London (including the Scotch) belong. Every year a meeting takes place in different towns in turn. Here also the chief importance lies in the free intercourse which follows the official meeting.

BRANCHES OF ACTIVITY

The example of Toynbee Hall has given a general view of a Settlement; certain typical features return again and again, though always in a new form. The activities are of unlimited variety, and even where the work is done according to the same scheme, a different picture is presented every time as a result of personalities and conditions. It would be interesting and would mean a most valuable contribution to the question of poverty and labour if one were to depict each separate Settlement in its peculiarity and follow out the reasons why it has developed in this and in no other way. Naturally this cannot be attempted within the limits of this book, also it would presuppose an experience which probably no man living has at his disposal. In the Appendix the

attempt is made in quite a few words to sketch the physiognomy of each Settlement; here the most important of the ever-recurring branches of activity of the Settlement shall be outlined in a short condensed form as far as this has not already been done in Part II.

Their grouping creates difficulties and always appears artificial, because they have grown out of the wants of the day, a counterpart of the needs of life, and thus, like the latter, know no scheme. For the sake of clearness they shall be classified under the following headings: (1) Religious Activity; (2) Educational Activity; (3) Popular Education—(a) for adults, (b) for children; (4) Provision of Recreation; (5) Share in Public Life; (6) Training of Social Workers.

1. *Religious Activity*

Almost at the same time with Toynbee Hall, in striking contrast to it, the strictly Anglican Oxford House was founded,¹ and since then the two types, religious and non-religious Settlements, exist side by side, the former, however, as the table shows, being in an overwhelming majority (thirty-two to twelve). It will not do to decide unconditionally in favour of one or the other; there is room for both, and there are conditions which distinctly demand the formation of a non-religious Settlement, namely, when one desires to attract circles, especially in the Universities, which would take no part in a religious undertaking. Toynbee Hall, for example, which in the outset grew out of the liberal Balliol College, was in this

¹ That this contrast was a perfectly friendly one is proved by a letter from Bishop Walsham How, which I happened to see, written on February 23, 1884, to the then Master of University College: "I am glad the two schemes (of Toynbee Hall and Oxford House) are taking somewhat different shapes, as there will not be even a superficial appearance of rivalry". The late Bishop Walsham How, who was then in charge of the eastern portion of the London Diocese, indicated Bethnal Green as the district in which to settle.

position. Canon Barnett assured me that he would have had to renounce a number of his best workers if he had imprinted a religious stamp on the undertaking.

Indeed, the fate of this very Settlement shows how infinitely difficult it is to maintain the non-religious Settlement on the same level. Toynbee Hall represents a fiasco of humanitarian Liberalism, whereby one is forced to the question whether this is at all capable of the discharge of the highest and most difficult tasks of humanity. But, whatever the answer may be, one cannot refuse its adherents the right to attempt a realisation of their ideals.

On the other hand, the question is whether it is not more difficult for the religious Settlement to reach the working-class. Here experience decides, and opinions naturally widely differ. I give the result of an enquiry on this point. As may be imagined, in every religious Settlement people are of the opinion that religion does not hinder work among the labouring class, while in the non-religious Settlement the opposite view rules. As to the value of these expressions of opinion it must, however, be considered, that really only in the first case can actual experience be gathered. The character of a Settlement is fixed from the beginning because a change of front would in every case bring the undertaking into discredit, and thus it can be stated with some certainty that, in the non-religious Settlement, no attempt has ever been made to win the working-class from a religious standpoint.

It is said, perhaps not unjustly, that on the other hand certain religious circles are peculiarly uncritical as to their own successes, which can readily be explained by the atmosphere of enthusiasm in which they live, and the unbounded joy over every single soul that is saved. But even if one listens with reserve to the witness of these religious people, one cannot shirk the impression of its value.

A few characteristic answers may here be quoted :—

Gonville and Caius Mission and Settlement.—" . . . Men will accept billiards, etc., and decline to go further. But I find it actually easier to interest men in religion than in education (in so far as these can roughly be separated) ”.

Mansfield House.—" . . . Religious character a difficulty in reaching men ? Not a bit ; it all depends on the men at the Settlement how far they reach ”.

Oxford House.—" . . . Philanthropy and religion, in the mind of the working-man, are so intimately connected that he finds no difficulty in understanding the ideals of a Settlement with a definitely religious purpose. My own short experience of six years' work among the poor of East London has led me to believe that a religious object is one of the things which prevent working-men looking upon a personal visit as an impertinence ”.

Oxford and Bermondsey Mission.—" . . . We never found that the religious character of the Settlement makes it difficult to reach boys or men ”.

St. Hilda's East.—" . . . The religious character of the Settlement is no difficulty in reaching women and girls ”.

The same experiences were obtained in the United Girls' Schools Settlement, in Maurice Hostel, etc.

Naturally, the peculiar character of the population in the midst of which the Settlement lies impresses its stamp on the position it takes up as to religion. Thus the Head of Rugby House writes from an Irish quarter : " Owing perhaps to the infusion of Celtic and Gypsy blood in the people here, there is very little militant atheism. At the crises of life, birth, sickness and death, prayer is expected and welcomed. The people here fortunately have too much ' humour ' to be irreligious. There isn't, however, a great scramble to get enrolled into the definite congregation of the Churches. Religion in

the sense of a personal participation in a Divine Purpose is no doubt absent. We haven't enough imagination. The same deficiency prevents us from being politicians, socialists, or even interested in our own education. Our aim is, I suppose, to kindle imagination by personal friendship with educated men, by literature and acting and even sport. That those whom we touch in this way should be asked at certain times to take part in a service is never resented. It is not easy to get them to come, but more easy than to get them to an evening school. . . . I never can believe the religious character of a Settlement is a hindrance to working-men (if the word religion be defined in a large spirit). Indeed, I don't believe any other work is likely to last".

Also outside London the same experiences are related. Thus I hear from Glasgow University Settlement: ". . . Religious character of Settlement here doesn't seem any barrier". And in the same sense from New College, Edinburgh: ". . . We have not found the religious character of our Settlement a difficulty in reaching working-men. . . . Our impression is that the frank acknowledgment of our religious aim, without in any way forcing religious talk upon the men, is considered more manly and straight than if we brought it in as a side issue".

These testimonials could easily be multiplied. They appear convincingly to prove that, if many on principle hold aloof from institutions of a religious character, this disadvantage is yet richly counterbalanced. For he who comes in the name of religion, possesses therewith a recognised licence to concern himself with the lives of his fellow-men. And if he succeeds in conferring his faith on another, the latter is bound to him more strongly and lastingly than by any community of intellectual interests.

Added to this is the fact that the workman, as such,

in England is no longer hostile to religion.¹ Labour Week at Browning Hall bears most impressive witness to this. In 1910 in the first week in May a religious demonstration of workmen was held there which was repeated in the three following years, every time with the greatest success. The speakers were chiefly Labour Members of Parliament; their speeches have been published,² and form an historic document of abiding interest. Labour Week at Browning Hall represents in a certain sense a counterpart to the Workers' Educational Association (see Excursus II.): both prove that the increased rights, and therewith the increased responsibility, which have been bestowed upon the English working-class, have led among the best of them to the highest development of intellectual and moral energies, which alone justifies us in setting our hopes in the future of a democratic England.

The hungry are certainly more often idealists than the satisfied. They know a great longing, and are often ready to risk a life for its fulfilment. Before them still stands the vision of a promised land. But, on the other hand, in the daily struggle for the necessities of existence, there lies the terrible temptation of a materialising of their ideals so that, in their dreams, the land of work and justice is only too often changed into the land flowing

¹ The strong prejudice against the Churches, however, continues to exist; for the same mistrust which the orthodox has for unofficial religion, the working-man has for official religion. Therefore direct dependence on a Church Institution is certainly a hindrance to a settlement. Two examples in London alone prove that this is perfectly recognised in Church circles: Bermondsey Settlement, which was founded expressly to reach areas closed to the existing Bermondsey Mission, and Ratcliff Settlement, which, while fully maintaining its religious character, has for the same reason been detached from the Church.

² *Labour and Religion, Christ and Labour, The Gospel of Labour* (London, W. A. Hammond, 1910, 1911, 1912). American, German, Danish and Finnish editions have appeared or are in preparation.

with milk and honey. This appears to be the fate of every idealism which is not anchored in the Eternal.

Hence the bridge which is here built between the Labour Movement and Christianity becomes of double importance, since it not only paves the way for the individual working-man to Christianity, but raises the level of the Movement itself. This was spoken of by one of the speakers at Browning Hall directly as a religious movement, as "a movement for the betterment of humanity, and for the broadening of life".¹ "Labour and Religion ought to be natural allies. They both seek to make this a better world; they both aim at a conception of life which is larger than that which exists, and which is, or seems to be, better than that which exists; they both aim at an ideal. But at this point the similarity ends. The ideals of Labour are for time, those of Religion are for eternity. Religion may not lower its ideal to meet Labour, Labour must uplift its ideals to meet Religion. There can be no compromise in this; to compromise is to destroy".²

Mr. Keir Hardie, the father of the Labour Party, bore witness for Christianity: ³ "There is not and cannot be any antagonism between Christianity and the Labour Movement . . . the impetus which drove me first of all into the Labour Movement, and the inspiration which has carried me on to it, has been derived more from the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, than from all other sources combined. . . . The mere study of literature, or even of science, leaves something unsatisfied. They tend to develop the mind, they tend to enlarge the outlook upon life: but there come times and seasons when something more is required than either science or literature can give. . . . And there is no power on earth that gives the same satisfaction to the longing, hungering heart as does the consolation which religion has to offer".

¹ *Labour and Religion*, p. 41. ² *Ibid.*, p. 82. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 48 et seq.

Twenty members of the Labour Party in Parliament¹ signed the following declaration :—

“ Jesus said : ‘ If any man would come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me ’.

“ Meaning so to follow Him, I wish to be enrolled in the Fellowship of Followers ”.

This is a Society of Christians of different denominations which for years has existed in connection with Browning Hall.

Labour Week made the greatest sensation throughout England. It was now no longer a disgrace for a working-man to be a Christian, and many understood what one of the speakers expressed in the words : “ The fight of the future will be great, democracy will be tried ; the less selfish democracy is, the better, the more powerful will it be ; the more of God there is in it, there will be more of victory ”.²

If Browning Hall has thus been before other Settlements in breaking the ice for the Labour Movement in Religion, these help it by quieter but not less necessary detailed work. The methods of religious work are different ; the leading part is naturally played by personal influence. Moreover, Services and Prayer Meetings are arranged, and Sunday Schools and Bible Classes formed for children as well as for adults. It is a problem whether it would be suitable to practise religious compulsion in the Clubs. Views on this point differ widely.

The Roman Catholic Women's Settlements limit their activities to those who belong to their own creed,

¹ Geo. N. Barnes, W. Brace, Will Crooks, A. H. Gill, J. Keir Hardie, A. Henderson, J. Hodge, W. Hudson, George Lansbury, James Parker, Thomas Richardson, Geo. H. Roberts, J. A. Seddon, D. J. Shackleton, Philip Snowden, Albert Stanley, J. H. Thomas, H. Twist, Geo. J. Wardle, Alex. Wilkie.

² *Labour and Religion*, p. 36.

and seek to make these in every way living members of the Church. Apart from those, I have been informed as to the practice of eighteen Religious Settlements. Thirteen, on principle, refuse to make participation in their social institutions dependent on a creed or on the fullfiment of religious duties.¹

Let a few statements of special interest be quoted :—

Broad Plain House.—"Any test or compulsory attendance would be absolutely fatal".

Gonville and Caius Mission and Settlement.—"No test or attendance at services. If I am convinced that in the case of young people (boys and girls) there is no conscience in this matter, I impose a test of religious instruction".

Rugby House.—"We have no compulsory tests, beyond expecting the boys who use the Clubs on Sunday night should stay for a short service".

Of the five Settlements which demand attendance at religious services at least from a part of the Club members,² Trinity Settlement is specially interesting with its carefully worked-out Club System. It consists of :—

1. *A Club for Men from 20 to 50*.—No religious service is held, and there exists no religious condition of membership.

2. *A Club for Lads from 17 to 20*.—Services take place in the Club, at which attendance is invited. Every evening a prayer is said in which they are not compelled to take part.

¹ Broad Plain House (Bristol), Browning Hall, Cambridge House, Catholic Settlement, Bermondsey, Gonville and Caius Mission and Settlement, Mansfield House, Maurice Hostel, Oxford House, Ratcliff Settlement, Rugby House, St. Patrick's Club, United Girls' Schools Settlement (London), Glasgow University Students' Settlement.

² Oxford and Bermondsey Mission, St. Hilda's East, Trinity Settlement, Wellington College Mission (London), New College Settlement (Edinburgh).

3. *A Club for Boys from 14 to 17.*—Presence at the Club Service is expected. Prayers every evening.

4. *A Club for Schoolboys from 13 to 14, of all denominations.*—Members of the Church of England are encouraged to attend Sunday School, in which the Head of the Club takes a class. Every evening at the close of the Club a short prayer is said.

5. *A Club of the Church Lads' Brigade.*—Attendance at the Sunday Service is enforced.

In Clubs 3 and 4 Bible Classes take place once a week in which the boys are prepared for Confirmation.

Where attendance at service is imposed it is the custom of the Head of the Club to warn a boy after staying away once or twice. The third time he is not allowed to attend the Club for a week. After further irregularity he can be expelled for good. Here the mean between the extremes is preserved with great skill by allowing greater independence with increasing age.

In this matter also distinct preference cannot be given to one principle over the other : its practicability depends too much on personalities and conditions, and there are districts where the consequent maintenance of religious stipulations would be an utter impossibility. It will always mean a certain limitation of the field of work. Also it doubtless brings with it the danger of attendance at religious services without inwardly taking part in them. How successful, however, it can be under certain conditions is proved by the experiences at New College, Edinburgh, whose Head writes to me : " Up till last year our Clubs, etc., were open to all, but we found it did not work effectively, owing partly to the fact that cliques or gangs of younger men were apt to come in purely for recreation to the exclusion of other men ; so last year we decided to try feeding our Men's Club from our Sunday Men's Meeting ; we have found this work much better, and have now in the Men's Meeting almost

all the younger fellows who used to come only for recreation ”.

2. Educational Activity

In the discussion of the religious Settlement work we have necessarily already entered into the subject of educational activity.

Contact with men, work on the individual, which culminates in religious influence, where such at all exists, forms the basis and centre of all real Settlement work. But as religious work offers its own problems, and is not always on the programme of the Settlements, it has been treated by itself.

Educational activity is here separated from the work of popular education, which in the first instance tends to the imparting of knowledge and accomplishments and the training of the brain, though in practice both necessarily overlap.

The field of work of the educator is chiefly the Club, which is a mainstay of Settlement work. The Club has already been sketched in order to explain the work of Toynbee Hall. Its elasticity permits of its being fitted into the framework of Settlements of the most varied kinds. It can be adapted to the needs of men and women, boys and girls of every age, as soon as these have attained a certain independence. The lowest age limit is usually fixed at thirteen. There exist, however, Clubs for children.

Girls' Clubs differ little in principle from the above described Boys' Clubs (p. 64 ff.), though, of course, the occupations are different. Singing and dancing play a great part. Some prefer to sit quietly at their needlework and be read to. Here, too, a variety which suits every taste and prevents monotony is a condition of success.

A great difficulty in the conduct of Clubs for women

and girls consists in their lack of initiative and *esprit de corps*. All too easily the Club resolves itself into small groups between which there are differences of various kinds. One notices among the women workers of the same factory, who, to the outsider, differ in nothing, a carefully preserved social classification according to parentage and wages, which goes so far that an intimate relation between girls belonging to different grades becomes extremely difficult.

To make up for this the work is rendered easier by the girls being more easily led and more approachable.

As in the Boys' Clubs, so here, a tendency exists to fit into the Club life a systematic activity in the form of classes in various subjects. Instruction is specially successful in music, gymnastics, sewing, drawing, reading, writing, cooking, etc.

As a complement to the Boys' Clubs, and often existing in connection with them, there are Scout Troops (for girls also), the Church Lads' Brigade, the Catholic Lads' Brigade, and the Life Brigades (for girls also). They have all been already described in another connection (see p. 73).

3. *Popular Education*

Almost every well-conducted Club, unless it is recruited from the very lowest class, extends its work into the region of popular education ; and here we stand on ground in which the Settlements have greatly distinguished themselves.

When the Movement set in, very little was being done in this direction for the inhabitants of the poor quarters, and though the Settlements, isolated and limited in their means to help as they were, could not thoroughly remove this defect, they yet called attention to the evil, and in many cases gave the impulse to epoch-making reforms.

(a) *For Adults*.—The reader may remember the

Evening Classes at Toynbee Hall, which were established when there existed no efficient Continuation Schools, the People's Library there, the Popular Lectures, the Evening Debates, and University Extension Lectures—in all those departments the “Mother of Settlements” found many imitators. Picture Exhibitions also were organised by a good number of Settlements. A centre of æsthetic culture is found in Manchester University Settlement; through its association with the Art Museum, which was arranged on Ruskin's principles, it is specially disposed to this activity.

But, above all, the new undertaking of the Workers' Educational Association finds encouragement and support in an increasing number of Settlements.¹ It needs centres for its activity in which to hold classes and social gatherings, and the Settlements are peculiarly qualified for this by their relation to the population, by the interests and the character of their Residents, especially so long as the Association has not yet, as is planned, covered the country with a network of its own colleges.

(b) *For Children*.—Much has been done in the Settlements for the education of children also. Besides the work in the Clubs we must here especially mention their pioneer work in two directions, the foundation of Cripple Schools and of Vacation Schools.

Without taking into consideration small classes in East London, the first School for Crippled Children who need special attention and cannot be instructed in ordinary Elementary Schools, was founded by the Women's University Settlement, Southwark. It bore the character of an experiment, as did the classes established by the

¹ Bermondsey Settlement, Cambridge House, Lady Margaret Hall, Passmore Edwards Settlement, Toynbee Hall, and others in London. Liverpool University Settlement, Victoria Women's Settlement in Liverpool, Manchester University Settlement, etc. Also the W.E.A. had a share in the foundation of University Settlement, Bristol, and Citizen House, Bath.

Victoria Women's Settlement, Liverpool. The first complete Day School of this kind was founded in 1899 on the initiative of Mrs. Humphry Ward in connection with Passmore Edwards Settlement; the Education authority, at that time the London School Board, endowed the school and put trained teachers at its disposal, while the Settlement gave the rooms, installed a nurse to wait on the children, and gave them a cheap midday meal.¹

The school proved of such value that it was copied all over England, and at last this type of Cripple School was officially adopted into the School system. In 1910 there were in London alone thirty-six such schools. Besides the already mentioned Settlements, Bermondsey Settlement and Manchester University Settlement take a special share in the work among cripples.

The first Vacation School was founded by Mrs. Humphry Ward in 1902 in connection with the Passmore Edwards Settlement. It was known by experience that for the child of the people the holidays were not a season of recreation but the worst time in the whole year; while in term time it spent the greater part of the day in clean and well-aired schoolrooms, as long as the school was closed it was reduced to the street and an uncomfortable home. Therefore the thought arose of founding during the summer holidays "Vacation" or "Holiday" Schools in which the children are occupied in pleasant and useful ways. They play, as far as possible, in the open air, take walks, and as a climax, make a day's excursion. The girls do easy needlework, and the boys also learn to mend their clothes, and especially their shoes. They do painting, modelling, cooking, etc. The School has an average daily attendance of over 1000 children.

¹ See "University Settlements in Great Britain", by Percy Ashley, *The Harvard Theological Review*, April 1911, vol. iv. p. 190.

Mrs. Ward organised two more large Holiday Schools in London on the pattern of the first, and elsewhere, too, the example was followed, as in Browning Hall, Canning Town Women's Settlement, and Victoria Women's Settlement (Liverpool).

In connection with this we may mention the Children's Recreation School which Mrs. Humphry Ward opened in 1897 in Passmore Edwards Settlement. It is opened on the first five days of the week for $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours towards evening, and also on Saturday morning. There are games and instruction in handicraft. Its success led in 1904 to the foundation of a Committee for the organisation of further schools of this kind in London. In 1910 their number, with the support of the London County Council, had risen to fourteen.

4. *Recreation*

Here we have reached another department of Settlement work which shall be touched upon in a very few words. It is even more difficult to mark its limits than in the preceding cases. Institutions like Clubs, Scout Organisations, etc., serve from the leader's point of view an educational purpose, while those partaking in them see therein chiefly an occasion for recreation. Also each intellectual task seems to the manual worker rather a refreshing change than an arduous toil. But in addition there are social gatherings, popular concerts, etc., the object of which is to provide harmless recreation.

There are more than enough opportunities for amusement in a large city, especially Cinematographs and Variety Theatres, and any one who has an intimate knowledge of the life of the working-classes can hardly consider them altogether harmful. A man who all day long sees nothing but work-rooms and desolate rows of houses, hears nothing but the rattle of machinery, has a craving for music and gay pictures. The Cinematograph and the

Variety Theatre offer both at a very low price, twopence for the cheapest seats. They form a danger only if a visit to them becomes a daily habit. They appear to be a necessary outcome of modern industrialism, and the reason of their defects lies not in themselves but in the conditions out of which they are born.

There is an utter lack of opportunities for innocent social intercourse. The case of a girl who was taken to task by a Club leader for having spoken to a lad in the street is typical. She answered: "Otherwise I should never get a sweetheart". It is a fact difficult for us to conceive that the proletariat should have until now developed no form of social life. There is for young people hardly any opportunity of getting to know each other than in dancing halls of bad reputation; for only the declared lover is admitted to the house of the parents.

Here a great task is laid upon the Settlements, of which, at any rate till now, they have not acquitted themselves sufficiently. With a view to this, the Clubs have in many cases arranged "Mixed Evenings", and I know of two cases (Passmore Edwards and Manchester University) in which Settlements have even organised public dances.

Sometimes—as examples, Browning Hall and Toynbee Hall (Erskine House) may be mentioned—Homes for Convalescents or the Feeble Aged are connected with the Settlements. Both Settlements quoted also arrange cheap trips for working-men, and Browning Hall enables over 500 poor to enjoy a fortnight's stay in the country every year.

5. Share in Public Life

Though, as has often been emphasised, the centre of the activity of the Settlement lies as a rule in work on individuals, yet it was clear from the beginning that

beyond this idea important public duties fell to the lot of the settlers.

The English system of administration rests on the supposition that everywhere a sufficient number of qualified voluntary forces are at its disposal. It must therefore fail in the poor quarters of the large town. But the settler has in special measure the qualities which are here necessary : culture, willingness to make the sacrifice, close knowledge of the local conditions. However, a residence of at least three years in the Settlement is a condition for taking a share in the municipal administration, as member of the County Council or of the Borough Council, and even this time is hardly sufficient to gain the requisite contact with and confidence of the people ; for at first they are naturally inclined to see in the outsider an intruder, who is only serving party interests, or wishes to satisfy personal ambition. Thus for these positions, as a rule, only the Wardens of the Settlements come under consideration.

Many Residents, however, act as School Managers, as members of the Board of Guardians, or the Children's Care Committee, and of other Bodies entrusted with the charge of the public welfare.

Of late many " Councils of Public Welfare " have been formed (in connection with Toynbee Hall such a one has been mentioned), and a number of Settlements take a prominent share in these. The aim of these organisations is to systematise philanthropy, to criticise local administration, and to create a disposition toward reforms which appear necessary.

The Charity Organisation Society is supported by most Settlements.

In this place, too, the " Poor Man's Lawyer " should be mentioned ; in almost every Settlement to-day free legal advice is given, the value of which is so universally recognised now that a closer discussion may be spared.

But far more important than all these activities is the critical share of the Settlements in public life—they have rightly been termed “The Social Conscience of the Nation”. They brought light into the darkest corners of the large towns, and revealed all the evils, not in the sensational manner of journalists, but through impartial criticism. Thus they have become one of the factors which awakened in the nation the feeling of social responsibility, and thereby paved the way for legislative reforms. A Member of Parliament recently stated that the social legislation of the last twenty years would be incomprehensible without the Settlements.

If this assertion goes somewhat too far, yet the direct influence of a Settlement in one actual case can be proved : the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 is indissolubly connected with the name of Browning Hall. The Head of the Settlement, Mr. Francis Herbert Stead, the brother of the late editor of the *Review of the Reviews*, has described the ten years of hard struggle which preceded this first great achievement of the Asquith Ministry.¹ This remarkable report by a practical mystic shows that a Bill which none of the great parties was in earnest about passing was demanded by the nation, and the Government had at last to bow to its will. The Old Age Pensions Act is the result of a national Movement. This Movement, however, was organised from Browning Hall, and it is no chance that it was a Settlement which stands above parties, and serves all who are in need with a disinterestedness beyond doubt, which was able to make itself the supporter of this humane work. Legislation is far too much dependent on political constellations. So much the more impressive in comparison is this example of the solution of a great legislative problem, not by a party but in spite of it.

¹ *How Old Age Pensions Began to Be*, by Francis Herbert Stead (Methuen & Co., London). Cf. also Frederick Rogers, *Labour, Life, and Literature*, pp. 203–268.

The driving force in this case was an agitation which worked with quite unpolitical methods, namely, those of information depending solely on facts, and which was conducted by an institution which—an almost unique thing in the modern State—takes part in political life without belonging to a Party. It is an idle question whether Old Age Pensions would exist to-day without Browning Hall. The historian registers the part which the Settlement played in history without losing himself in fruitless speculations as to what other factors fate could have made use of in its place.

6. *Training of Social Workers*

At the conclusion of this summary of the activities of the Settlements, which is necessarily incomplete, and treats only the problematic with greater fulness, an important question must be considered, namely, the training of the Settlement workers themselves, as much with a view to their work in the Settlement as to later social work in other directions.

Hitherto systematic training has been carried on almost solely in Women's Settlements,¹ for reasons which are evident. In the first place, on their entrance, most of their Residents lack even more than in the Men's Settlements any previous training which could be regarded as a preparation for their work, while in a number of cases the men are helped by their calling or their studies. Secondly, the women devote, as has already been said, almost their whole time to social work, and thus the possibility arises for them to subject themselves to a training for which the man who has a profession has no time. Lastly, an ever-increasing number of professions for which such a training is necessary are available to women.

Thus an entirely new work is opening to the Settle-

¹ University Settlement, Liverpool, forms an exception.

ments ; they are becoming a school for social workers, especially women. Hence a new prospect of development lies before them, and their claim to be supported is justified in the eyes of a wider public.

To meet an increasing need the School of Sociology and Social Economics was founded in London in 1904 ; it arranged courses for the theoretical and practical training of social workers. It was not in connection with the University. The theoretical instruction extended over the Social and Industrial History of Modern Times, Political Economy, Social Ethics and Philosophy, special problems of poverty and attempts at their solution. Hand in hand with this went a practical training which appropriately, though not necessarily, was connected with residence in a Settlement. The students had to be at least twenty-two years of age ; the time of training lasted a year ; at the end of each term examinations were held. Successful attendance at the whole course was certified by the bestowal of a Diploma.

In 1913, the School of Sociology was merged in the London School of Economics, but the old methods of work have been retained. A large proportion of the training consists in giving the students first-hand experience of social work. This experience is afforded by association with Children's Care Committees, Skilled Employment Association, Labour Exchanges, Committees of the Charity Organisation Society, Rent Collecting, Provident Visiting, Club Management, Special Enquiries into Industrial Conditions, and various branches of Settlement work. Special importance is attached to individual tuition.

All the larger Women's Settlements in London let their beginners as far as possible attend at least a part of the lectures. In 1911, attendance was made at the whole course by three Residents from the Women's University Settlement, five from Lady Margaret Hall, two from St.

Hilda's East, two from the Canning Town Women's Settlement, one from the United Girls' Schools Settlement.

Following the example of London, a " School of Social Science " was founded in Liverpool, which is connected with the University. It is attended among others by Residents of the University Settlement, as also of the Victoria Women's Settlement. In Birmingham, Bristol, Dublin, Edinburgh, Leeds, and Glasgow, courses have been arranged on similar principles in connection with the Universities. These are attended in four cases by the corresponding Settlements (Birmingham Women's Settlement, Bristol University Settlement, Queen Margaret Settlement, Glasgow, Red House Settlement, Leeds). The courses are designed for men and women. Examinations are held at the end of each session, and certificates given. The courses are all planned for one year, at the end of which the students may obtain the certificate ; but a fair number of students spend two years over the course. Systematic training of Social Science students is also given at Citizen House, Bath.

The prospects of the women who have attended such courses are very good. I hear from the United Girls' Schools Settlement (London) : " We can always get posts for any girl of good average intelligence over twenty-five years of age, who has been through a systematic training here ". There are such positions, for example, in the Labour Exchanges, especially in the " Juvenile Advisory Committees " connected with these ; further, under the London County Council, for the organisation of the work of the Care Committees, and in the care of the poor. Also the Charity Organisation Society always employs a number of paid women workers ; Playgrounds for children, Clubs, and a number of similar Institutions need partly paid, partly unpaid assistants in increasing measure. The Settlements also are ever increasingly compelled to pay a part of those women helpers who are specially

in demand, though quite poorly, and out of proportion to the work done ; it always remains a service of love ; but by this means the possibility is given to capable people of remaining longer at the disposal of the Settlement.

The outline of the Settlement Movement is ended. It gives with as much impartiality as possible the picture which is offered by it to an observer who comes to it from without. The following critical analysis of the Movement affords a deeper insight into its essence and into the forces which are behind it.

II. CRITICISM OF THE SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT

The Settlement Movement fills one of the most honourable chapters, and not the least important one, in the history of modern England. It is the most elementary expression of humane feeling in revolt against social misery. This indeed has found expression in innumerable ways, but those on whose hearts it was most deeply imprinted understood that life was the only price for life, and that it was their duty to give themselves for the redemption of the masses. Therefore they came and took up their abode where the misery looked blackest, in order to act and in order to learn. The Movement, in its conception, is romantic-idealistic, a crusade into the unknown land of need, which had to be conquered bit by bit. But withal it was as eminently practical, as entirely matter of fact, as the romantic can be in England alone. As in Ruskin, as in Toynbee, so in it a strong common sense found itself united with lofty ideals. It had no programme as it confronted tasks which could hardly be recognised in their rough outlines. Its guiding star was the feeling of its pioneers that a sacrifice of love was necessary in order to make up to

their brothers, who lay in economic serfdom, for the centuries of forgotten duty on the part of those who held in their hands culture and power. Also they recognised that efforts at social reform, like philanthropic endeavours, groped in the dark, and did more harm than good, so long as men possessed no exact knowledge of the conditions which were to be improved. We must realise that twenty-five years ago there was no Labour Party in Parliament, and that on the other side private initiative had hardly yet begun to bridge over class differences, in order to understand that in fact an entirely unknown piece of the life of the English people was about to be opened up. A small chosen band set to work, and has to-day, after nearly thirty years of work and experience, rather grown than decreased, which proves that the Movement was born out of a real need.

One asks oneself now : What has it accomplished ? and what are its prospects in the future ?

From the preceding outline it is clear how difficult it is to estimate the significance of the work done, which is so infinitely varied and so closely connected with a great number of other undertakings, that its field of influence cannot be defined. To the mystic its chief value will lie in the knowledge that certain deeds must be accomplished and thus in themselves wear an importance which silences all questions as to their immediate profit. But science cannot rest content with this argument ; it requires something positive.

To begin with the smallest success of the Movement : it is shown by the preceding description that the sum of social work achieved on individuals is considerable ; it is usually greatly under-estimated. The number of working-men living in London to-day, and brought into more or less close touch with the Settlements, would be reckoned too low rather than too high at 100,000. The methods of work are, as has been shown, for the most

part adopted ones, but by the experience which accumulates in the Settlements, and the close contact with their field of work, they are brought to the highest efficiency. The unsystematic help which the inhabitants of the Settlements give in a countless number of daily occurrences, and of which no reports speak, cannot naturally be in any degree calculated.

Then the Movement has to a great extent made up for the very grievous weakness of the English system of administration which lies in the fact that it presupposes in each district a sufficient number of cultured and willing representatives of its interests. On the County and Borough Councils, on the School Management Committees, and on the Organisations for the Care of Public Welfare everywhere, men of the Settlements sit to-day who, by their knowledge, their influence, their self-sacrifice and unselfishness, have been able considerably to raise the level of the practice of administration.

Again, the Settlements have accomplished a great work of enlightenment, and if to-day public opinion on the conditions of life among the lower classes of the people is better informed than in the eighties, the Settlements are mainly to be thanked for it. But they have gone further. By means of the press, by popular and scientific publications, they have given a glimpse into a world hitherto unknown, and have shown evils which were to be removed. They have pointed the way to social reform, whether they presented plans of reform for discussion, whether they tried on a small scale institutions which, if they proved successful, were taken over by the State,¹ or whether they sought directly to influence the legislature through their Members of Parliament (Mr. T. E. Harvey, Mr. Percy Alden, etc.), or by propagandism (Browning Hall, Old Age Pensions).

Finally—and therein lies their greatest importance—

¹ The schools for invalid children furnish an example.

they have become by their mental attitude a factor in the public life of England, which does not appear on the surface, but is none the less influential. They are its ever wakeful social conscience ; they unwearingly stir the fire which the social idealists have kindled ; they educate an élite set of men who later, in prominent or humble positions, live out the ideals which they have absorbed in the Settlements. A glance at the list of the former Residents of Toynbee Hall alone shows how the social organism of England is interspersed with such people. But also the living witness which they afforded of a love which knows no dividing boundaries, of ideals of humanity which lie beyond all class distinctions, does not remain without its impression on the working-class. General Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, cries out at the end of a life blessed with unheard-of success : " I have sought all my life to reach with one hand the rich, and with the other the poor, and have not been able to ". The Settlement Movement has succeeded in doing so. It has built bridges which can never be broken down. It has been one of the strongest and most successful forces in the struggle for the unity of the nation.

In this sense it is an unqualified success, and justifies the belief of its supporters that acts of unselfish love are never done in vain.

Nevertheless, careful observation shows that it has not developed as its founders expected, and that now, when their generation is beginning to die out, it is approaching a crisis, indeed is already in the midst of it. When characterising its spiritual side we have already hinted at its weakness ; it lies in the fact that the settlers are no Franciscans, but on an average nothing more nor less than lovable, healthy, prosperous young Englishmen, with good hearts, in whom during the daytime, in their profession, one sees nothing remarkable to distinguish them from others of their kind. (In the Women's Settle-

ments the case is different in so far as most of their Residents give their whole life to social work ; but they come hardly nearer to the Franciscan ideal on this account.) The greatness and the tragedy of the Movement lie in this that it has undertaken to place men of the world in the service of a work to which they are not equal.

They did not at first make it quite clear to themselves what it meant to be a voluntary neighbour of the poor, and the history of the Movement means one single, fervent lesson in this direction—with varying success. From the outset the settlers stood on principle in opposition to the old type of the well-meaning, condescending philanthropist, who expects that his gifts will be received with humble gratitude. On the whole, it was really their earnest wish to place themselves on an equal footing with the working-class. They expected no thanks. They did not think themselves specially noble, but rather the representatives of the bad conscience of their class. They would have emphatically refused to characterise their work as a sacrifice, and they knew that they were at least as much learners as teachers. But even the best have their share of the weaknesses and prejudices of their time : they also, though unconsciously, had not the respect for the working-man's right to inward and outward independence which it would have been self-evident to give to those belonging to their own class.

The disciple of Jesus, the Franciscan, every one who daily offers his life as a sacrifice for humanity, whose self is effaced, who is only a tool in the service of a higher power, has a freedom of action in regard to other men, a right to enter into their life, which no other possesses. And the poor are peculiarly sensitive to this. To the soldier of the Salvation Army, to the deaconess, even to the representative of a Church,

though they do not belong to it, their door stands open. They may not be glad of the visit, but they do not regard it as an impertinence. And out of tolerance friendship may develop. But with regard to every other, especially in the case of the best workman,—the workman with a feeling of honour,—his house is his castle, his friendship and his confidence a treasure which he is not ready to give to every one who takes it into his head to be interested in him.

This was an unexpected difficulty in the working out of the neighbour idea. The settler was prepared for mistrust, and met it with the confidence and patience of one who knows that he is misunderstood and that his acts must ultimately bear witness for him. But this quiet refusal—We do not want your friendship—was a surprise.

Every one who took up his abode in a poor district had then more or less to encounter this difficulty; but another lay in the form of the Settlement, the settling of a whole band of outsiders in the slum, often in a building specially erected for this purpose, which, for example, in the case of Toynbee Hall, like a College, has almost the character of a small enclosed fortress. This means a life amongst entirely artificial conditions, which even more than culture and prosperity places the newcomers at a distance from their neighbours.¹ The root idea of the Movement, the daily sight of misery in the streets, and the programme of the Settlement, lay them under an obligation, and at the same time its seclusion makes it almost impossible to live up to the neighbourhood idea, without considering the difficulties which this carries within itself. Thus the temptation exists to let the purely human side of the work lapse more and more, and

¹ This begins to be felt more and more strongly. Only recently the Residents of Oxford and Bermondsey Mission have decided to give up the Settlement, but continue its work, living by themselves in the neighbourhood.

to see in the Settlement above all a unique opportunity for object-lessons and experiments for young students in social science, and administrative officials.

This means not only a complete break with the tradition of the Movement, but—which is less clearly understood—it implies putting oneself in direct opposition to its ideals; for to be a witness of misery and only theoretically to work for its removal, is a refusal of the demand from which the Movement arose,—to sacrifice one's own personality. And, indeed, in Settlement circles to-day one can hear the opinion expressed that not merely the only practicable, but the only possible way to help the poor is the political, and every impulsive dealing with an individual is harmful. It is held that the organism of society has to-day become so complicated that the demand expressed in the Parable of the Good Samaritan to help one's neighbour can find its application in this shape only to members of one's own class, and nothing is to be done for the rest but to improve the social and economic mechanism; that is to say, a radical change of front, by which the Movement is placed in opposition to itself. These tendencies become clearer in the degree in which the atmosphere of the Settlement is not a Christian one, and perhaps are most felt in Toynbee Hall. In such institutions founded on personalities, conformity to rule, without an exception, cannot of course be expected, and there may be a secular Settlement in which the spirit is entirely different, as it changes also in every individual case. But taking the Movement as a whole, the tendency is unmistakable. Of course we must not forget that Toynbee Hall is in no way typical, and by far the greatest number of the Settlements bear an avowedly religious character. In this connection Toynbee Hall is only important as an extreme case.

The problem of the Women's Settlements is rather different. In the first place, many of the women give their

whole time to the Settlement, and where this is not the case, are likewise busy with social work of another kind. Thus their life always belongs to these questions, and the danger lest the Settlement should develop into a pleasant Club is here excluded. There is probably hardly a single Resident at a Women's Settlement who does no social work, a case which in Men's Settlements is not at all unusual.

Moreover, it is in many instances easier for them as nurse or as adviser of the mothers to enter into the life of the women of their neighbourhood at moments when women understand each other immediately, and the differences of birth are removed. But, on the other hand, one sees that for the "social" woman her activity chiefly is an outcome of the unsatisfied mother instinct ; that is to say, she puts her best powers into this work, in which her soul takes part in quite another degree than in the case of the average man. But thereby she almost invariably incurs the risk of regarding the world as her nursery. And as the community life in the Settlement always has the valuable and dangerous consequence of intensifying certain tendencies, so also here ; torn from the natural connections of a daily life which serves to polish and is filled with an unlimited number of wholesome humiliations, removed from the critical observation of members of her own class, and not, like the man, with a profession affording other compensating impressions, the woman Resident of the Settlements is tempted to overestimate her insight into the surrounding conditions of life, and to patronise instead of trying to win friendship. Thus, also, in this case, though for quite other reasons, the form of the Settlement means to-day a danger for the work to be done.

In face of these defects, which are increasingly felt, one asks oneself in what way the Movement will develop. It is too early to give any definite answer to this—certain

conjectures may, however, be expressed. There are as yet, on the whole, no outward signs of a falling off, and where, in the individual case, it is more difficult to find men and money, this is explained rather through the increasing number of similar institutions than by a decrease of zeal. But, indeed, it is inside the Movement, and here again more in the secular than in the religious Settlement, that criticism and doubt have entered, in place of the devout enthusiasm of former days; and, which is characteristic, not the workers but the leaders are beginning to fail, the men who are ready to place exceptional qualities for a considerable number of years at the exclusive service of this Cause.

This need not be understood as a mark of decline, but it certainly betokens a crisis. One does not know which way to turn. One feels the weaknesses of the Movement, a fault in its conception, without knowing how to remedy it. Some wish to use the Settlements in the first instance for the training of young administrative officials and social workers. It has been shown that in a series of Women's Settlements the systematic training of the Residents already plays a great part, and also in certain branches of the administration it is a recommendation to belong, for instance, to Toynbee Hall. There is no question that possibilities of development lie in this direction. But as the experience of the Women's Settlements shows, to make this work the basis of the Settlement has its dangers; it might receive an entirely different "egotistic" type of Residents, who are only useful to a limited extent for the work which they wish to undertake for the sake of their training, since it demands a devotion which they are not prepared to give. Anyhow, it is conceivable that social Settlements, while avoiding this difficulty through strict selection of the material, might specialise in this direction, as is attempted in the University Settlement, Liverpool. In that case a prominent

man is at the head who directs the personal training of every single Resident, which naturally means endless work, but can also be productive of corresponding success. The presupposition, however, must always remain that the Cause is of more importance to the Resident than his or her career, and that the neighbourhood idea is upheld.

There is, however, another possible way of solving the problem: the Settlement might be reserved for the training of younger men under the supervision of the Warden and perhaps two or three helpers, according to the size of the place. The best and most enthusiastic social workers which the Settlement produces, would, as far as possible, after the end of their training-period, settle down in the neighbourhood; and this network of men who are really in touch with the poor, and who would frequently come to the Settlement, influence the young men there and let them take part in their experiences, would form a link between the training-centre and its surroundings. This would be a hopeful experiment, but it has not been tried yet. The condition of success, however, would be the ideal Settlement-spirit, the belief in the inestimable value of personal sacrifice, in the necessity of work that cannot be done by officials, but only by human beings who know what it means to love the poor as brethren.

The Mission Settlements, on the other hand, and the Institutions of similar character (for example, Oxford House, with its avowed object of the training of clergy), present the fewest problems, and will hardly essentially change.

The future must teach us whether the Settlements which follow neither of these two roads, that is, which intend to embody in their purest form the original ideals of the Movement, will show themselves capable of lasting. To some the Workers' Educational Association, which wants such centres, may bring fresh force. But, however

valuable they may be in this direction, this work has nothing more to do with the neighbourhood idea.

The conclusions regarding the Movement may be thus summed up :—

It represents the noblest and most deeply humane attempt at the solution of the social problem. It has done great things in the service of love and knowledge, more than a well-thought-out, logical, irreproachable system of social work could have done. But it rests on the mistaken idea that a number of well-meaning cultured people could become neighbours to the poor whenever they chose. This is possible so long as they are carried over all hindrances by a wave of enthusiasm, or so far as their life is filled with living Christianity ; for both can overcome all human obstacles, and it is there that the difficulty lies. The history of the Movement shows that the task in itself is not unsolvable. Human bonds can be forged between men and women of different classes to the great profit of both sides. There are Settlements which carry into practice the neighbourhood idea in an ideal manner, and do a work which lies entirely outside the possibilities of an organisation. But this assumes a degree of latent human warmth, combined with a tact and perseverance, such as in the long-run the ordinary man has not at his disposal.

The Settlement places before the average man a heroic task, and, by veiling it, makes it acceptable to him. Thus, out of the social idealism, it was possible for a wide-reaching movement to be born, which gained many forces that would otherwise have been lost to it, and won for itself supporters in large circles. But it appears condemned, in its original shape, to suffer shipwreck on its own ideals, the severity of which it did not recognise.

EXCURSUS I

THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT

THE last forty years have seen a revolution in the department of national education in England ; the Elementary Schools have been considerably improved and made accessible to all children, and at the same time the Universities have opened their doors and offer their carefully preserved treasures of knowledge and culture to the whole nation.

Only from the combination in the character of the Englishman of conservative immovability and enthusiastic initiative in the pursuit of that which has once been recognised as right, can such developments as these be understood, which, in the short space of a few decades, have changed the most aristocratic system of education of all the cultured nations of Europe into the most democratic. The social legislation affords a parallel.

One must realise that, with the exception of Durham, Oxford and Cambridge in 1870 were the only teaching universities in England,¹ and that these were closed not only to women,² but, on financial as well as religious

¹ Years of foundation—Manchester, 1880 ; Wales, 1893 ; London (as a teaching University), Birmingham, 1900 ; Liverpool, 1903 ; Leeds, 1904 ; Sheffield, 1905 ; Bristol, 1909.

² Girton College, the first College for Women, was founded at Hitchin in 1869, transferred to Cambridge in 1873. Women cannot receive degrees and formal membership from Oxford and Cambridge, but attendance at most of the lectures is allowed them, as also the

grounds, to the great majority of the nation. At Oxford, until 1871, the signing of the Thirty-Nine Articles was a condition of matriculation.¹

These restrictions had long been found irksome, and already in the forties proposals for reform had been eagerly discussed, which took shape at Oxford in the following seven schemes for University Extension.² The following proposals were made :—

1. The establishment in the University of new Halls, as independent Societies or in connection with Colleges.

2. Permission to undergraduates to lodge in private houses more generally than hitherto.

3. Permission to students to become members of the University, and to be educated at Oxford under due superintendence, without subjecting them to the expenses incident to the connection with a College or Hall.

4. Admission to Professional Lectures of persons to whom the Professors should be authorised to grant certificates of attendance, without any further connection with the University.

5. The abolition of Religious Tests on matriculation and graduation.

6. The foundation of Theological Schools in Cathedral cities, and their affiliation to the University.

7. The provision of funds by the University for the establishment of professorial chairs in Birmingham and

enjoyment of most of the other advantages of the University. They are admitted to nearly all the examinations. Since 1878 London can give the degree to women; since 1895, Durham. In all the newly founded universities of Great Britain men and women are treated alike.

¹ The University Test Act, 1871, abolished this condition, as well as all further declarations and oaths which concerned religious belief, and all compulsory attendance at religious worship at Oxford, Cambridge and Durham.

² Oxford University Commission, 1853. Report, pp. 35-56.

Manchester ; sufficient attendance at the lectures of these Professors to be accepted as qualifying for a degree.

A Commission for reporting on these proposals approved the three first, and thus paved the way for a reform within the limits of the University. But the germ of University Extension in the true sense of the term is to be found in the idea of establishing Professors' chairs in Birmingham and Manchester. It came from Mr. Sewell, Fellow and Senior Tutor of Exeter College, who in 1850 wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford : " Though it may be impossible to bring the masses requiring education to the University, may it not be possible to carry the University to them ? Yes, and at first, by way of experiment, professorships and lecture-ships might be founded, say at Manchester and Birmingham, the great centres of manufacturing districts, and in the midst of the densest population. . . . By degrees the system might be extended through the whole country. . . . Cambridge would, of course, take its due share in the work. . . . A plan of this kind would extend the benefits of University instruction to the utmost possible limits. . . . And, lastly, by originating such a comprehensive scheme, the Universities would become, as they ought to be, the great centres and springs of education throughout the country, and would command the sympathy and affection of the nation at large, without sacrificing or compromising any principle which they are bound to maintain ".

The letter is memorable, because it contains all the essential ideas which lie at the root of the University Extension Movement. But the time was not yet ripe : the Commission rejected the proposal on the ground that the University needed men and money for its own purposes.

That the sister University was moved by similar thoughts is shown by a pamphlet published in 1855 by

Lord Arthur Hervey, M.A., Cambridge, entitled *A Suggestion for Supplying the Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutes of Great Britain and Ireland with Lecturers from the Universities*, in which it was asked that the Universities should place at the disposal of these Institutions suitable lecturers for the holding of continuous courses instead of the unsystematic lectures which had hitherto been held. The author proposes that the University should appoint four " Travelling Professors ", each of whom would give in a year at twenty towns six lectures on one subject, which with the railway conditions of that time would have been indeed no easy task. This proposal also met with no approval.

It betokened a step forward when in 1858 Oxford and Cambridge resolved to raise the level of school instruction through the whole country by a system of Examinations, by which for the first time the old Universities showed an active interest in the education of outsiders. From this to the extension of their teaching activity was no longer a great step.

The impulse came from without. In 1867 a Women's Union in the North of England¹ applied to Professor James Stuart of Cambridge with a request for lectures. He took up the suggestion, and we have to thank his energy if at last a need was taken into account, which for a long time previously had craved for satisfaction. In the same year he lectured in Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield before audiences consisting of women only. The experience he gained led him to have abstracts printed in the shortest form, which were put into the hands of each hearer and sketched in a few words the subject-matter of each lecture, so to speak a guide for writing down the headings. Further, he had short essays written every week on a question he

¹ " The North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women "; cf. James Stuart, *Reminiscences*, p. 157.

had treated; both of which proved so useful that the method was retained: since that time "Syllabus" and "Weekly Paper" stand on the programme of the Movement.¹

But from another direction also, from co-operative societies and public bodies, came similar requests. While Professor Stuart was giving lectures to the "Equitable Pioneers' Society" in Rochdale, which in its day gave the impetus to the present development of the Co-operative Movement in England, the idea came to him to let the lecture be followed by a "Class", an hour of discussion, which in the end proved to be the best, in fact the only effective way of teaching working-men.

Other Professors also placed themselves at the service of the new work. But the necessity was soon recognised of regulating it in a more systematic manner. In November 1871 Professor Stuart addressed a letter to the University of Cambridge in which he repeated the proposals made by Sewell twenty years before. "The desire for education exists", he wrote, "and I believe that it is incumbent on us to supply it, and I believe that some such system, which will carry the benefits of the University throughout the country, is necessary in order to retain the University in that position with respect to the education of the country, which it has hitherto held, and to continue in its hands that permeating influence which it is desirable that it should possess".

The moment was favourable. The discussion of the Elementary Education Act had interested even those hitherto indifferent in educational questions, and thus the suggestion this time really led to practical results:

¹ Professor Stuart received the first impulse to distribute questions for written answers from the fact that a preliminary attempt to allow the lecture to be followed by a conversation and thus to make sure that his hearers had understood the problems treated of, failed because offence was taken at discussion between young men and women.—*Reminiscences*, p. 162.

since 1873 Cambridge has arranged systematic lectures outside the University.¹

These lectures were, according to the reports of 1872, intended for three classes of hearers :—

1. For women and such persons as are unemployed during the day.

2. For young men of the middle class, clerks and business people, who are only free in the evening.

3. For working-men.

Accordingly, day and evening courses were arranged. The day courses, which met with great interest among fashionable women, were from the beginning a success. The evening courses, especially designed for young men, were as a rule well attended, but by a very mixed public of all classes of society, young men between 18 and 25 being almost unrepresented. This was experienced again and again. Of 58 candidates in Nottingham who passed an examination at the end of a course on Political Economy, there were 31 men (4 students, 5 artisans, 4 packers, 9 clerks and shop assistants, 6 factory owners, 1 teacher and 2 of unknown occupation) and 27 women (7 daughters of factory owners, 2 daughters of a minister, 12 daughters of tradesmen, 6 milliners).

A course on "Greek Tragedy for an English Public" was attended by 330 hearers. Two-thirds were in good circumstances, and paid 10s. 6d. for the course; 93 were admitted at reduced prices. Of these, 31 were teachers in Secondary Schools, 13 in Elementary Schools, 23

¹ The dates of the early history of the Movement are chiefly taken from the book by H. J. Mackinder and M. E. Sadler, *University Extension, Past, Present and Future*, being the third edition, revised and enlarged, of *University Extension : Has it a Future?* (Cassell & Co. Ltd., London, 1891). The book by Dr. James Russell, *University Extension in England and America*, came to my notice only after the completion of this volume. The moment of writing (the middle of the nineties) may be the reason why his description is somewhat too enthusiastic and only hints at the problematic nature of the Movement.

governesses, 11 pupils of Secondary Schools, 10 employés in business houses, 4 artisans, 1 maid-servant.

The result of these experiences was that, except for the day courses, it was no longer considered expedient to arrange lectures for a definite class of people. They should (and by this they secured the interest and the support of the "Social Idealists") form a mutual ground on which those belonging to every rank could meet in common work.

The organisation of the courses was made with the endeavour to aim at as great an elasticity as possible by decentralisation. Accordingly it is based on Local Committees working in conjunction with a central Committee of Members of the University who work out the plans of study, provide lecturers, etc.¹

Courses are established as follows in a place hitherto not touched by the Movement :—

The suggestion may come from the Education Committees of the Borough or County Councils, from Public Institutes, such as Public Libraries, Municipal Art Galleries, Technical Schools, Scientific Associations, Mechanics' Institutes, Schools, Co-operative Societies or private persons. In short, whoever takes an interest in educational questions can take upon himself the organisation of a Course. If they are not held in connection with an existing Institution, then as a rule one must proceed in this way :—

Any one who wishes to organise a course procures the necessary information as to plans of study, etc., from the Centre, and seeks to put himself into connection with the people in the place who are like-minded. If the plan seems to find sufficient reception, then those interested arrange a preliminary meeting ; this perhaps is called at their request by the Mayor. As many people as possible,

¹ What has been said here is also true for courses organised by Oxford and London.

whom it is desirable to win over to the course, are invited. A temporary Committee is appointed, which has to collect subscriptions, and by bills and personal efforts to enlist people for the cause. Before the beginning of the courses the organisers must guarantee to the University a sum which will cover the costs. These vary according to the lecturers. At Oxford, for example, these are divided into three classes: "Staff Lecturers", "Class A", "Class B". The prices for six lectures and classes by a Staff Lecturer are £30, 12s. CLASS A, £24, 12s.; CLASS B, £15, 15s. For twenty-four lectures and classes respectively, £102, 12s., £78, 12s., £45, 15s. In addition, there are travelling and other expenses. Different methods are now open to the Local Committee for securing the necessary funds. Either it tries to get subscriptions which are to be paid in case the undertaking does not cover its cost (this method has proved unsatisfactory), or it collects promises to buy tickets, or it forms a "Society to promote the Extension of University Teaching", the best way of securing the existence of the work. Certain rights are assured to permanent members, such as tickets at reduced prices, a voice in the selection of the lecturers, subjects of lectures, etc.

If the financial difficulties are overcome, then a public meeting is called, and a Committee is chosen formally whose duty it is to organise the lectures. It is desirable that this Committee should be as representative as possible, and should contain members of the working-class, of the clergy and of the Municipal and Education Authorities.

In successful places much was expected from the ultimate establishment of a "University Extension College". Such colleges were founded in Exeter and Colchester (Cambridge), and Reading (Oxford). But the College at Reading very soon became a University

College of the old type, and is on the way to develop into an independent University, on which account it is not included in the statistics given here. The two other Colleges also did not achieve what was expected of them, since Exeter College developed into a University College, while that at Colchester was given up. Accordingly to-day not much is looked for from this idea for the Movement as such.

Firth College, Sheffield (founded 1879), and University College, Nottingham (founded 1881), owe their existence to the feeling created by the Movement, but are not actually University Extension Colleges.

It deserves mention that, in addition to the usual courses, " Pioneer Lectures " of from one to three hours are held for recruiting purposes, especially if the work is to be further extended in places already promising success.

In order to ensure greater uniformity for the Movement, the local centres belonging to the same district, so far as they stand in connection with Oxford and Cambridge, have joined together in Associations which in their turn send representatives to a Central Committee. This meets once a year for the discussion of questions which affect the Movement as a whole. The " University Extension Guild " serves the same purposes in London.

Students' Associations, which meet regularly in order to discuss systematically the subject of the lectures, help to encourage advanced study in individual centres. They have proved extraordinarily valuable. The Reading Circles, in which preparation is made for the understanding of a course by the study of books, serve a similar purpose.

The undertaking showed itself full of vitality. Two years later London followed the example of Cambridge. Those who wished to transfer the Movement to the capital were faced by the fact that it possessed no

teaching University. At first they thought of asking Cambridge to establish courses in London. But this idea was given up, and the formation of an independent association, the "London Society for the Extension of University Teaching", was preferred. Its foundation dates from a meeting at the Mansion House on the 10th of June 1875 with the Lord Mayor in the chair, when a resolution was passed that the system of the Cambridge University Extension Lectures should be imitated in London, and the different Educational Institutions of the Capital should be asked to give their support. The leading Educational Institutions of London were represented on the Committee of the Association, and a "Universities' Joint Board" was formed of nine representatives of the three Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London. The Board was to appoint lecturers and examiners, and it had the general control of the work.

To begin with, courses were held in connection with existing institutions (London Institution, City of London College): they were unsuccessful. Then they began to form special Committees in different districts—the Whitechapel Centre mentioned on p. 51 forms an example—and the more individual treatment of different needs thus possible ensured at once good results. The table on p. 150*a* shows that the work in London had a sound and steady development numerically without any notable reactions. A comparison with Oxford and Cambridge is difficult, as London does not publish the average attendance at the courses, but the total number of students. In the year 1902-3 the University of London, which had been enlarged into a teaching University, took over the work and continued it in the same spirit. Thereupon the Society was dissolved.

In Oxford the Movement took a firm footing in 1885, after a first attempt undertaken in 1878 at the instigation of Jowett had failed. Here the development was

extraordinarily rapid, and the numerical success far greater than at Cambridge. In 1909-10 the average attendance amounted to 19,785 against 10,189 in the case of Cambridge. The explanation lies in the difference of their methods, into the details of which we shall now enter.

It is almost impossible to give a general idea of the character of a University Extension Lecture, because they differ remarkably. This is partly explained by the difference of the public to which they are addressed. According to an agreement between the three Universities,¹ the activity of the University of London is limited to the Metropolis and its immediate neighbourhood, while Oxford and Cambridge share the rest of England between them. No geographical boundary line has been drawn. At first each University tried to extend its field of work in every direction as far as possible. In this way Oxford first discovered that a public could not be found everywhere for the twelve hours' courses which Cambridge used to give, and resolved to establish numerous six hours' lectures. To-day these form the rule for Oxford, with rare exceptions. The result was an immense numerical success and a competition with the sister University which was painfully felt on both sides. Finally, it was agreed that one University should hold lectures only at a place with which the other had had nothing to do for at least two years. The result on the whole is that Cambridge occupies places in which serious work can be done with success, and consequently attracts a somewhat different public from Oxford, which has made itself more or less the centre of "fashionable" University Extension.

A further speciality of Oxford, which tries to make

¹ Beside the named Universities, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham take part in the Movement, but only within their immediate neighbourhood, and on a small scale.

up to a certain extent for the lack in thoroughness resulting from short courses, are the travelling libraries, which consist of books which the lecturer recommends for the supplementing of his lectures. These are sent on request, weeks or months before the lecture begins, to the respective places, so that at the beginning of a course the students are more or less prepared.

As a rule, a class is connected with the lecture. Statistics as to the attendance at the classes, as well as the writing of the weekly or fortnightly papers, give an idea of the work done; especially the former. People may have no time for the papers, or may consider them unimportant. But attendance at the discussion following the lecture is certainly a more or less reliable thermometer of interest. Here we see in the case of Oxford that in 1909-10, of about 20,000 attending the lectures, about 5400, that is to say, little more than a fourth, attended the class. A considerable falling off is not to be recorded. About 30 per cent. is the rule. The numbers before 1894-95 are not published. Oxford does not usually publish the number of written papers, so that no continuous statistics can be given. The number of papers in 1892-93 was 2176, in 1896-97, 1375, keeps this level with small variations till 1906-7, and then falls rapidly to about a third, that is, 400-500. This does not necessarily mean a decline of interest in like proportion, all the less as at the same time the use of the travelling libraries increases. However, it shows that no great readiness exists for regular serious work. The reason for this phenomenon is not clearly understood, and the publication of these statistics for the last few years has entirely ceased in order to wait and see whether it is only a passing variation or a lasting tendency.

The deepest reason doubtless lies in the character of the public of the Oxford University Extension Lectures, as sketched above. Oxford has speculated in numbers

and has always been proud of its numbers. The consequence is only too natural : a middle-class public, especially, quickly flags in its zeal for learning, if the supporters of the Movement do not inspire them to the deepening of study. In the last few years a remarkable decrease in numbers is shown in the attendance at the lectures, a final result which was to be expected. The same importance is not to be placed on the number of examinations, into which we shall enter later.

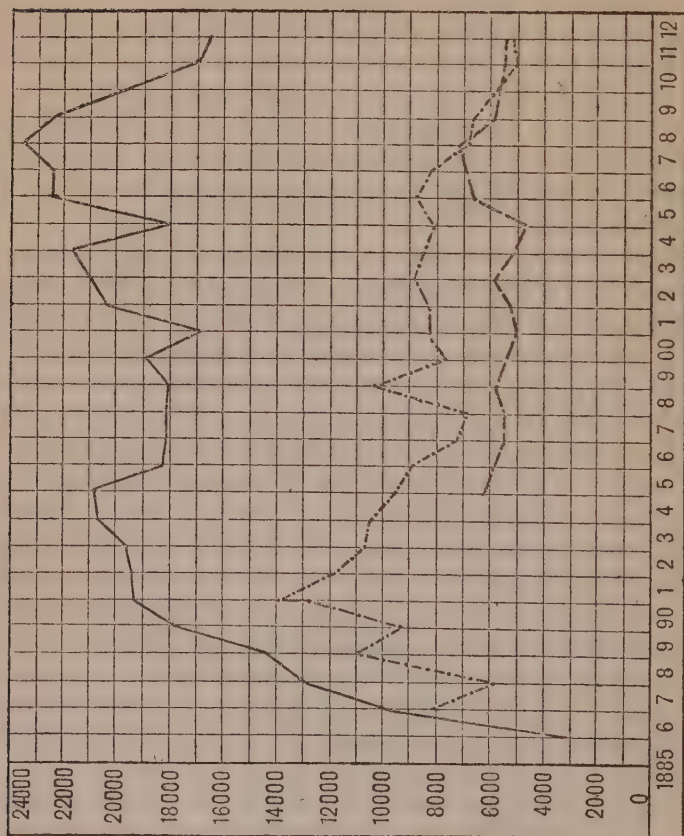
A glance at the statistics of Cambridge not only shows, as has been mentioned, a far lower number of students, but it also shows constant and very considerable variations. The reasons for this are of a different kind.

When the University of Cambridge began the work, crowds of students at once streamed in. University Extension became the fashion, and the Englishman, who was not intellectually surfeited, expected miracles from the Movement. Money was plentifully subscribed, and the leaders of the Movement, without measuring its possibilities of development, began as many courses as possible. The enthusiasm quickly waned. It was seen that real knowledge was neither so easily acquired as they had thought, nor did it open all doors in heaven and on earth. The pace had been too great ; often two or three courses had been held in a place which at most could furnish a permanent audience for one, and so there came a reaction which almost led to bankruptcy. This was at the end of the seventies. In order to save what could be saved, a capable organiser, Dr. Roberts,¹ was called in, and he succeeded in surmounting the crisis.

In 1891 the Technical Instruction Act became law, which gave the County Councils the power of supporting

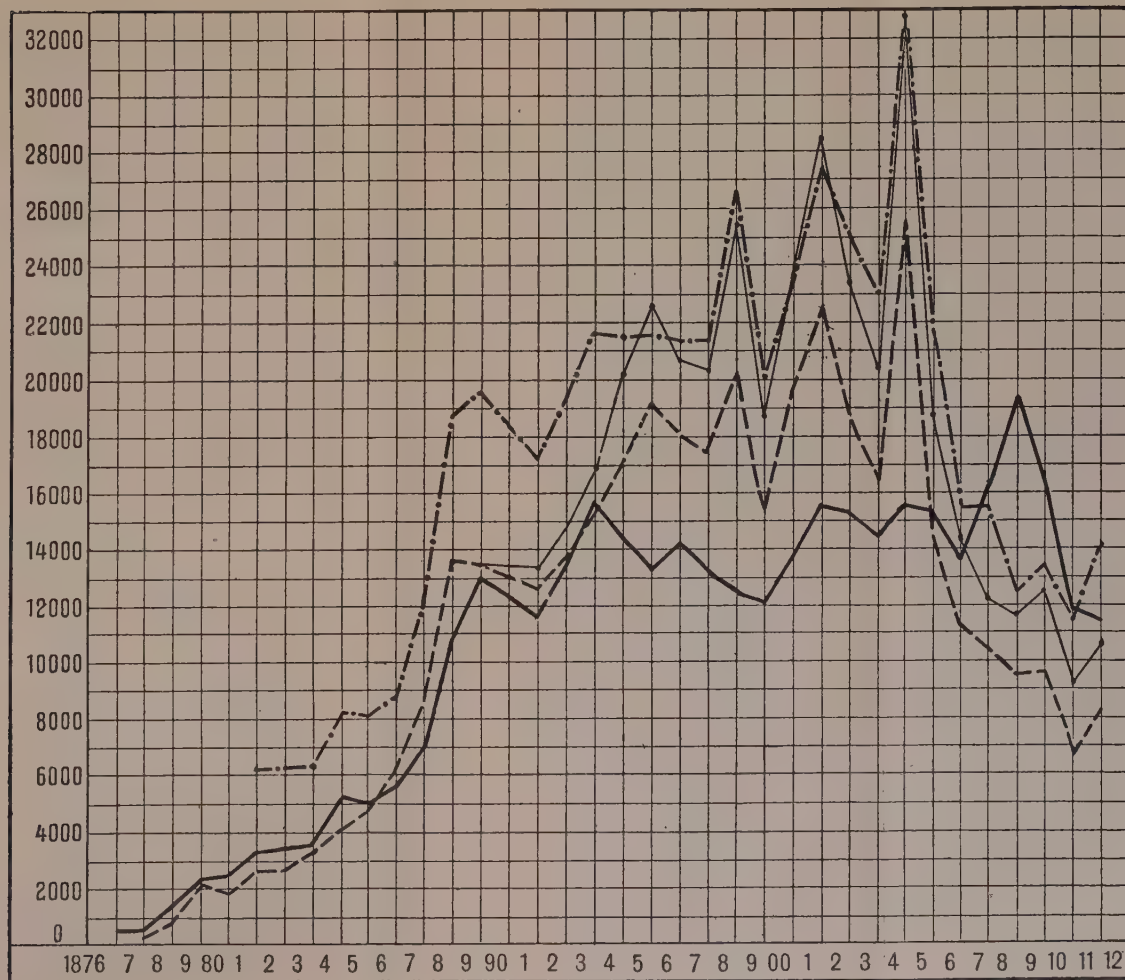
¹ Dr. Roberts was, till his death in the autumn of 1911, registrar of the University Extension Office at the University of London. For years he had been a member of Toynbee Hall.

- = average attendance at lecture.
- · — · — = average attendance at class (no statistics exist before 1894-95).
- · · · · = numbers examined (before 1890-91 number of certificates awarded). (To be divided by 10.)

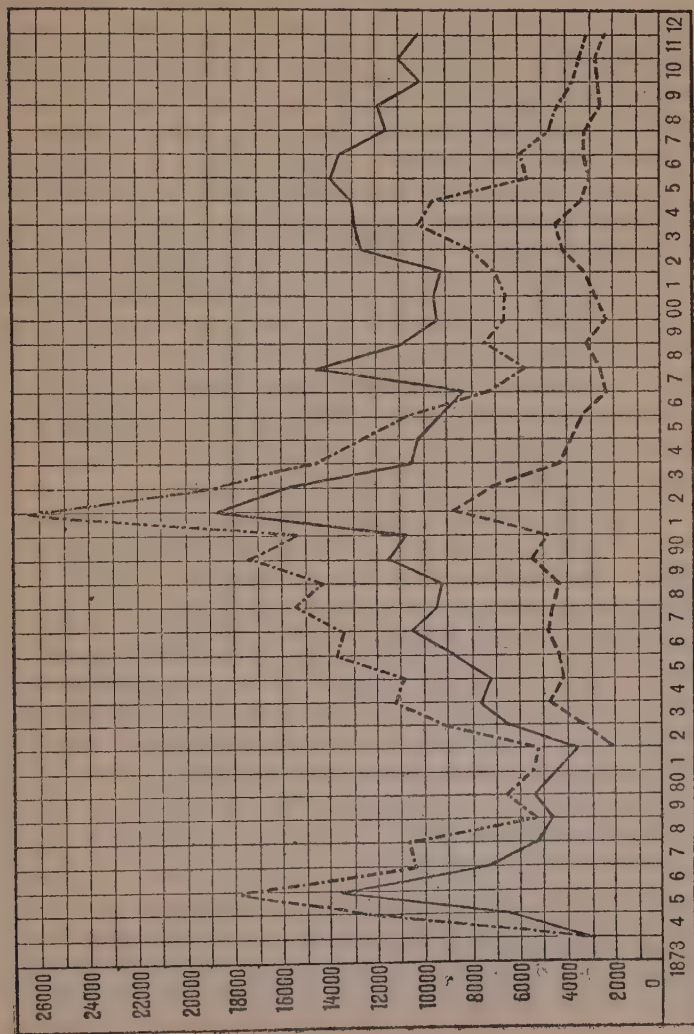


————— = number of students.
 - - - - - = terminal certificates
 - - - - - = terminal and sessional certificates
 - = average number of weekly papers

} to be divided by 10.



- = average attendance at lecture.
 - - - - = average attendance at class (statistics before 1881-82 not available).
 - . - . - = numbers examined (to be divided by 10).



courses on technical subjects, *i.e.* Mathematics, Book-keeping, etc. (the money, so-called "whisky money", came from a tax on alcohol). The County Councils, which organised no such courses themselves, gave the money chiefly to the University Extension Movement, especially to Oxford and Cambridge. London was not affected by it. This led a second time to a hasty extension of the field of work, moreover in a direction which was far removed from the idea of the Movement—to extend education without any intention of making it serve professional ends. In the case of Oxford the abnormal numbers of these years have not been included in the statistics. Cambridge clearly shows the rapid increase and the necessary subsequent reaction. After a few years the County Councils changed their practice, and devoted the money to other purposes. But the work in Cambridge was again on the verge of ruin, and for the second time Dr. Roberts was called in; his coming is marked by the increase of numbers in 1898.

The South African War diverted interest, and caused another period of decline. But at the same time pupils from a new source were brought into the Movement; since 1894 the Board of Education had recognised certificates for successful attendance at courses in certain lecture centres, in so far that the holder was not examined again in the same subject for the King's Scholarship Examination for Pupil Teachers.¹ After 1898 wide use was made of this, and the tendency existed to arrange courses on purpose for Pupil Teachers. These naturally made a solid audience, attended the classes regularly, did the written papers, were examined,

¹ By "pupil teachers" are meant the Elementary School Teachers who have attended no Secondary School, but directly after the close of their time at school, that is to say, at fourteen, were employed as assistants in teaching, and later had to pass certain examinations. The system had very bad results, and was abandoned.

and thus considerably influenced the statistics in this direction.¹

Attendance at the courses was doubtless of great value in the training of Pupil Teachers, for, on the one hand, first-class lecturers were at their disposal, and, on the other, the discussion class which allowed the asking of questions, and in which the papers given in were talked over in detail, made a very thorough and individual instruction possible. But a difficulty lay in the fact that their needs were different from those of the average attendants at the University Extension Courses, chiefly because of their defective education, so that really satisfactory results could only be obtained if the lectures were adapted to their level. On the other hand, the Board of Education found that the results were very uneven, which is only natural, considering the wholly different circumstances under which the courses were held. Therefore, after December 1905, it refused to acknowledge the certificates. In the following years the Pupil Teacher System was gradually given up. This largely explains the fall in the number of those examined in the case of Cambridge in 1905-6.

All this, however, does not account for the decided tendency to decrease which is shown by the examination figures in recent years. This appears all the more important, because it corresponds to the general impression of a decline in zeal, not on the part of the leaders of the Movement and the local organisers, but of the public. We shall come back to this later.

The London statistics show an essentially different picture. As mentioned above, the Movement was slow to take root in London; but then the attendance curve shows an almost unbroken rise till 1894. In that year

¹ This is true for Cambridge and London. Oxford was hardly affected by it, because the courses for Pupil Teachers had to consist of not less than twenty-four lectures.

the Movement seems to have reached the circles accessible to it. From that time the figures maintain, on the whole, the same level till 1909, when by another rise they reach their maximum.¹ The phenomenon is easily explained. In London one has to deal with a limited district, the oversight of which is easy, there is less experimenting, and therefore one meets with less disappointments. Besides, the conduct lay for many years without interruption in the hands of Dr. Roberts.

The figures for examinations and papers show upon the whole a far more favourable picture than the statistics of Oxford and even of Cambridge. Work is carried on in the same spirit as at Cambridge; courses of twelve and twenty-four lectures are the rule. If the average result is a better one, the reason is to be sought, on the one hand, in the more intellectual public of the Metropolis; on the other, in the more easily managed field of work. The rapid rise after 1891 and the sudden fall, 1905-7, is largely to be attributed to the Pupil Teachers.² But here also, apart from that, a flagging of zeal is clearly to be traced in the last few years. The number of those attending the classes is not published.

Now we must consider the system of examination. Its chief importance lies in the fact that it represents an official recognition by the Universities of the achievements of the University Extension Movement. Here

¹ The decrease in 1909-12 is only an apparent one. The total number of attendances is obtained by adding up the numbers for each term. The decrease of the figures of 1909-11 is wholly explained by the fact that courses which formerly extended over three terms, so that the number of those attending the whole course was multiplied by three, are now finished in two terms, though the number of lectures remains the same. The increase in the number of weekly papers in 1911-12 has its origin in the rapidly growing number of Tutorial Classes, in which regular co-operation is self-understood.

² In 1903-4 six courses for Pupil Teachers were held, in 1904-5, nine. The three additional courses mean 687 extra papers. In 1905-6 the number of courses fell to five.

Oxford, Cambridge, and London have gone in different ways.

The Oxford regulations are as follows :—

Examinations are held, if desired, at the end of every course of six or more lectures. Certificates are given only on the ground of at least ten lectures of an hour each. The examiner is never the same person as the lecturer. The examinations are written, and last three hours. Any one is admitted who (1) has attended at least two-thirds of the lectures and classes; (2) has done not less than two-thirds of the written work to the satisfaction of the lecturer; and (3) is at least fifteen years old. A distinction is only given on the recommendation of the lecturer as well as the examiner.

A "Terminal Certificate" is only given for a course of not less than ten lectures of an hour each, or for two courses, which together include twelve lectures, provided that they are consecutive in time and subject, and on condition that the candidate in the meantime attends a connecting course in a Students' Association approved of by the lecturer and the Committee for University Extension in Oxford or a class approved of by the Committee.

A "Sessional Certificate" is gained for one course of 24 lectures or two of 12, or two of 10 lectures and one of 5 in due sequence. Two Terminal Certificates, which are gained within a certain time, can be exchanged for a Sessional Certificate. As a special distinction a "Sessional Certificate in Honours" is granted.

Under more difficult conditions an "Affiliation Certificate" is given. Such a certificate can only be gained in connection with courses held in an "Affiliated Centre"; a place receives this title on condition that the Local Committee guarantees to bear the expenses of the lectures, and that it undertakes the holding of appointed series of courses extending over several years. These series consist of not less than ninety-six lectures and

classes, of which seventy-two must be chosen from one of the following groups of subjects of study, twenty-four from the other. GROUP A includes Mathematics and Natural Sciences; GROUP B, History, Political Economy, Philosophy, Languages, Literature, Art. The candidate must have received certificates corresponding to each of the eight courses embraced by the above scheme, and in addition must undergo an examination at Oxford under certain conditions. The certificate procures the advantage that, in case the holder wishes later to study at Oxford, one of the otherwise necessary three years of study is remitted. Not much use will be made of this recently granted privilege, for the reason that a student who gives so much time and diligence to attendance at these lectures clearly either cannot or will not attend a University.

Any holder of the Affiliation Certificate who passes examinations in Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Latin, and one other language (Greek, French, or German) receives "the Vice-Chancellor's Certificate".

Much use is not made of this complicated examination scheme—the number of those examined in 1909–10 was 588—and it is also really hardly considered desirable according to the spirit of the Movement that too many forces should be concentrated on examinations. In this case also a decline may be observed: the number for 1910–11 is lower than that of any other year since the number of those examined was recorded, *i.e.* since 1891. In the Table for the preceding years the number, only a little smaller, of those who gained certificates is given.

The Affiliation Scheme owes its creation to Cambridge. The University there resolved in 1886 to recognise lecture centres under similar conditions as "affiliated", and to confer on students, who, after attending the appointed series of lectures, submitted to certain tests, the title---

"Student affiliated to the University of Cambridge". On entering the University they were to be excused the "Previous Examination", or "Little-go", and be entitled after two years to take an Honours Degree.

These arrangements had at least one good point: they favoured the introduction of systematic courses. In Newcastle, as a result, a loss of 30 per cent. of the students was expected; instead of this they increased 12 per cent., while the number of those who attended the lecture with serious interest doubled, a lesson from which the Movement did not extract the full consequences.

On the whole the scheme was not a success, for one thing, because the chief advantage which it offers can only be enjoyed by those who study in Cambridge, which for most of those whom it concerns is impossible. Besides, the chief aim of the University Extension Students is, in the little free time which their calling leaves them, to supplement their education in departments which especially interest them; they will therefore not be ready to acquire knowledge in a number of special examination subjects which are valueless for them.

Besides the Affiliation Certificate, a Terminal Certificate, Sessional Certificate and Vice-Chancellor's Certificate are granted under conditions similar to those at Oxford.

Statistics show that thirty years ago the number of those examined was about one-seventh of the average number of students (502 : 3406), that ten years later the relation begins to change to the disadvantage of the former, and in 1911-12 there are only 300 examinees out of 10,228 students.

London sought to avoid the defects of the Oxford and Cambridge system by creating a scheme for the gaining of a Diploma in "Humanities", which came into force in 1911-12. Diplomas are granted in History, Literature and Political Economy, and pre-

suppose four years' work. The first three are devoted to the general study of the subject, the fourth year to the independent study of a special question. During each year attendance must be made at a University Extension Course, which, as a rule, includes two lectures and classes a week. At the end of each term, and also of each session, a certificate can be gained by an examination, so that the study can be completed without difficulty even with interruptions (which is not the case at Oxford or Cambridge). For four Sessional Certificates gained from the lectures which are prescribed in order to obtain a Diploma, "the Vice-Chancellor's Certificate" is granted. If the candidate passes a further test, which embraces the whole area of his study, he receives the Diploma.

The scheme is specially devised for capable ex-pupils of Secondary Schools, who do not enter the University, but its elasticity should also make its adaptation to other needs possible. The success remains to be seen. It doubtless contains an encouragement for systematic study which is not without effect on the organisation of the courses (in 1911-12 twenty of these courses were already established, with 263 students; two women students held the Diploma in Literature). Whether much use will be made of the examination possibilities themselves is doubtful, for any one who wishes to extend his knowledge in addition to his profession, especially in his riper years, has hardly the inclination to submit himself to examinations which have no practical value.

The attempt was made to introduce this scheme into Cambridge, but without success. It presupposes a systematic sequence of courses, extending over several years, which are occupied with kindred subjects. But in a provincial town which does not furnish a public for more than one course at a time, it is out of the question to encourage one special branch of study for three

consecutive years, for the benefit of three or four students who wish to get the Diploma, whereas for the whole of London possibly students for two, three or perhaps more of the systematic courses can be got together.

In London, as the statistics show, at first about one-tenth of the total number of students made use of the possibility of gaining Terminal and Sessional Certificates ; then the number of candidates rose, and in 1904-1905 no less than 3298 certificates were given, compared to 15,596 students. But from that date the number declines rapidly, and in 1911-12 it had sunk to 1117.

Apart from this University Extension work in the stricter sense of the word, which endeavours to carry the advantages of the University into the country, some years ago Summer Meetings were established at Oxford by the University Extension Board, the aim of which is to enable outsiders to make a stay of four weeks in the University, and to give them an opportunity of widening their knowledge under the influence of the tradition and æsthetic charm of Oxford.¹ As a rule the lectures which are held at this time for the visitors to the Summer Meeting are grouped round one large subject ; for example, in 1911 it was " Germany ". Different sections treated of Germany and its position in History, German Literature and Philosophy, German Theology, German Music and Art, " the epoch-making names in German Science " (Humboldt, Helmholtz, Liebig and Bunsen, Johannes Müller, von Bär, Virchow and Koch, Gauss), German Political Economy. There were also special classes arranged for foreigners who wished to perfect themselves in the English language.

¹ The prototype of the Summer Meetings is the Chautauqua Summer University in the State of New York, U.S.A. Charles Rowley, the friend of William Morris and Ford Madox Brown, and one of the most original popularisers of education in England, suggested the transference of this idea to English conditions. (His autobiography appeared in 1911 under the title of *Fifty Years of Work without Wages*.)

The first of these meetings took place in 1888. Others followed, at first at intervals of one year, then of two years. In 1911 the number of visitors was 1191; a greater attendance is not desired, because there is a fear of the superficiality attendant on dealing with crowds; 458, that is to say, far more than one-third, were foreigners (Germany 216, France 58, America 30, Austria, Denmark 23, Holland 20, Switzerland 18, Belgium, Russia 16, Sweden 15, Norway 14, Hungary 11, Italy 8, etc.). The majority of these were teachers of the English language. For the greater part of the English contingent consists of women (about five or six times as many women as men). They came from all classes. Men and women teachers were particularly numerous here also. The foreign members can take an examination in English. There are no other examinations.

Cambridge followed the example and organised Summer Courses in the years not reserved by Oxford. Twice these were held outside the University (1904 at Exeter, 1910 at York). They were less well attended than the Oxford ones: in 1910 the attendance was 504, of whom 389 were women. Only 33 working-men took part. Of the 103 foreigners, 73 were teachers (1912: Total, 565; foreigners, 226; working-men, 24. Working-men are known to prefer to attend a Summer School in connection with the Tutorial Classes).

If one seeks to compute the value of the Movement as a whole, one comes to the following conclusions:—

This noble undertaking to place University Education at the disposal of the whole of England has shown itself capable of life and development for almost forty years. It has created a system of canals through which, to all who desire it, a widened and deepened knowledge can be conducted, and, more than that, it has doubtless largely increased the number of those interested in intellectual subjects. It has helped to awaken in England

an interest in educational questions which causes the conservative to tremble before an age of intellectualism and therefore of decadence. It has prepared for the founding of Universities and Colleges, or has directly called such into life. It has filled the old Universities with a mission spirit hitherto unknown, and helped to open their doors. It has led the way to the democratising of education.

The Movement has conquered, one may almost say by storm, the circles attainable by it, a sign that it met a real need, that it was an historic necessity. Since the first half of the nineties no increase of membership worthy of mention is to be observed, and can hardly be expected in the future.

The quality of the accomplished work, however, forces one to severe criticism. Statistics and experience show that the Movement, especially in later days, has not quite escaped a danger which lies close at hand, namely, that of making education too cheap. Everywhere there is a falling off,—in the case of London a rapid one,—in the attendance at the discussions following the lectures, in the writing of papers, in the examinations. Even if one regards the last factor as less important, the other data doubtless show a decrease of earnest students who seek less for stimulation than for training of their minds, and are ready to purchase it by work. Indeed, this tendency is specially apparent during the last ten years.

One reason for this phenomenon is certainly to be sought in the increasing desire for amusement and the mania for sport. Further, while many in earlier days gained certificates because they had a practical value as a recommendation, to-day for the same reasons Technical Institutes are attended which did not then exist. Again the new provincial Universities, for which the Movement effectually prepared, to-day

take its place in some of its once most successful centres.¹

However, the Movement itself has to bear the final responsibility. It must be acknowledged without reserve on the one hand that even where it accomplishes least, in an Oxford course of six lectures, without much attendant work, it presupposes more perseverance and interest than the isolated lectures, which represent almost the only corresponding educative factor in the life of the German middle-class, all the more so because, with rare exceptions, an hour's discussion follows each lecture.

But, on the other hand, the Movement must be measured by its ideal. It wishes to spread University education, it associates itself with the word "Science", it leads its members to believe that they possess a knowledge of a subject, after studying which during a course of six lectures they can receive a certificate. Thus it can create a half education which is unconscious of its worthlessness, and, therefore, worse than ignorance.² It is worthy of remark that the Oxford University circles as a whole treat the Movement with indifference if not mistrust; in Cambridge and London the feeling is different. That any permanent keeping of the English middle-class to advanced studies with purely ideal ends is difficult, is evident to every one acquainted with England.

¹ In Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield alone in 1875-76 thirty-five courses were held.

² A confirmation of the judgment here pronounced on the University Extension Movement is found in the *Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London*, 1913, p. 187: "The conditions under which the ordinary Extension courses have been given, the necessity that most of them should be maintained out of the fees of the students, the fact that most of the lecturers have not been University teachers, but men who confined their teaching to giving these lectures, and that the majority of the students, though doubtless interested in intellectual things, have not been prepared to do serious work, make it impossible for a University standard to be reached in most cases".

In one direction the University Extension Movement doubtless is an emphatic failure : it has, on the whole, not understood how to reach the working-man ; it has become a middle-class Movement.

Already in its earliest years disappointment was felt that the expected participation of the working-men in masses did not take place. Reasons were sought, and these were found in the defective Elementary education, in physical weariness through the day's work, which, it was thought, made mental exertion in the evening impossible, in over-time, and, especially in the mining districts, in shift-work. That these explanations had not touched the kernel of the problem is proved by the later success of the Workers' Educational Association, and also by an occasional hearty participation of working-men in the University Extension Lectures, which was not quite intelligible to the supporters of the Movement.

The historic example for this is Northumberland. It was the first district in which working-men in great numbers took part in the Movement. In the autumn of 1879 lectures in Political Economy were held in Newcastle, Sunderland, North and South Shields. In the examination a miner took the first place, the daughter of a rich factory owner and M.P. of the district the second. The interest of the working-men was enthusiastic. They formed a committee, which made a repetition of the course possible. On the whole, 1300 miners took part. How was this success to be explained ? It was pointed out that the population in Northumberland was more stationary than in other mining districts, that the North-country man combines a traditional tenacity with a thirst for knowledge, that the Elementary Schools and other educational institutions of the district were especially good. But one feels throughout that these are the arguments of people in a dilemma, which do not refute the counter-statements coming from the same source as to

the attendance of working-men. The example of Northumberland only proves that under certain not clearly known conditions the working-men, in spite of all the difficulties which beyond a doubt stand in their way, are quite ready to secure for themselves by great sacrifices a higher education.

Other isolated cases were found in which working-men attended the courses with enthusiasm. Report tells of men who worked the whole day before the lectures and the whole night after them in order to be able to take part in them. Another proof of the zeal for learning, at least in certain circles of the working-class, is furnished by the Students' Associations, which began to form at the beginning of the eighties, and in which working-men, for lack of outside help, under the guidance of one of their own number, pursued the most varied studies with touching devotion. Thus a society of miners was founded in Backworth. A member of this society gives a sketch of its work, which conveys a better idea of the mental hunger which sought for satisfaction than all the reports of outsiders.

"The studies commence in this way: Someone is appointed to introduce the subject; he does so by a paper or lecture, but more frequently by reading a chapter from one of the text-books. He explains and illustrates the chapter as well as he can, a discussion then ensues, and every point in the lesson is examined and discussed until it is perfectly clear to every member of the class. When the first lesson is mastered, the second is gone through in the same way, and so on. It is no longer a new thing to see a dozen men discussing and endeavouring to comprehend some point in a lesson which has hitherto withstood all their efforts. The discussion wanders on to subjects which have no connection with that under consideration, and is brought back again by an appeal from the more earnest students.

“ Everything in the book bearing on the point is re-read. The discussion recommences, but a gloom is settling on every face at the prospect of the meeting breaking up without the point being understood. Every one is engaged in one last desperate effort to overcome the difficulty. Suddenly some one’s eyes begin to sparkle, and his countenance is brightening up. The light has burst in upon him. With the ecstasy of one who has just solved a baffling problem, he springs to his feet and explains the point. This explanation clears up the difficulty to a second one. The number of teachers then go on increasing until there is only one pupil left. He is conscious of being the greatest dullard in the class, and declares that he will not be the last to comprehend the next difficult point. The eleven are all busy with him. The explanation of some one penetrates his mind, and he ceases to be a pupil. Still there is some doubt as to whether he has really mastered the point, or has only said so in order to get rid of the pressure which was bearing upon him. It is therefore suggested that he should explain the difficulty in his own way for the benefit of the others, as they had to explain for him. He does this, and there is more joy over this one convert than there was over the other eleven ”.

From the beginning onward, the missionary spirit among the working-men has been remarkable. In one case, when no lectures were held in their own village, two members of the Students’ Association attended lectures on Chemistry in a neighbouring town, and repeated them as well as they could at home to those who had no time to attend the lectures. The lecturer later at their request examined the class, and found that they all had a sound knowledge of the subject, and would have passed the University examination if they had had the right to enter for it. This is only one of many examples.

The attempt to meet the needs of country districts

in this way was first made systematically at Guildford.

The consideration of the financial question throws further light on the Labour problem. The Universities have no money at their disposal for University Extension, so that the Local Committees must defray all the expenses of the lectures, *i.e.* if the lecturer receives, for example, £40 for a course of 12×2 hours (Lecture + Class), the total cost, inclusive of hire of room, printing and travelling expenses, etc., will be about £70. If the number of students is very large or the fees high the receipts may suffice for the discharge of all costs. Otherwise subscriptions are necessary. To get £70, for example, an audience of 300 would be required, supposing the tickets cost 5s.

The places in which these lectures are held may be divided into (1) those with a mixed public; (2) those with a purely working-class public. In the former case, there are again two possibilities—(a) Morning and afternoon lectures are held, principally attended by ladies who pay a high fee; here the financial question offers no difficulty. (b) Evening lectures are held, which are attended by a mixed public, including working-men.

The typical case is the following: a guarantee fund is formed, a Committee appointed, to which one or two working-men are admitted in the hope of a strong attendance by the working-class. The expected success is not forthcoming. The reason for this may be that, though conditions may be favourable, the price of the tickets has been fixed too high. Thus, for example, a course was held in York on Political Economy in 1882, the price of tickets being 5s. The expected working-men did not appear. The first lecture was repeated, the entrance being free, and 500 hearers turned up, nearly all working-men. A course was promised them if they sold £10 worth of tickets. The price was fixed at 1s. 6d.,

and £14 worth were sold. In a case where 6s. for lecture and class, 3s. for lecture alone was asked, a working-man wrote: "I and many other working-men are only grasping for that which fell from the lips of the German poet, Goethe, namely, 'more light', but when we have to purchase it so dearly I am afraid we shall have to remain in darkness".

Or say (this also is typical) tickets are issued at 5s., with a possible reduction to 3s. 6d. or 2s. 6d. in special cases. The attendance of working-men is almost nil. The course is repeated at the reduced price; the result is the same. They are at a loss. The Committee resolves to let the Movement drop. In one such case one individual succeeded by personal effort in producing an immense success, financially as well as numerically. This shows that it is not enough for a public of working-men, apart from the cases in which the conditions are specially favourable, to offer them cheap opportunities of education and to make them known by placard, but that the success depends on whether there are individuals who devote their personality to the cause and win recruits for it.

An instructive example in this respect is the history of the Whitechapel Centre (see p. 49 f.), where a few enthusiastic supporters of the Movement were to be thanked for a huge success, and, after their departure, in a very short time the whole territory gained was lost without any one being able to supply a positive reason for it.

Thus we come to the conclusion that the University Extension Movement failed to solve the problem of the education of the working-class for reasons which were partly guessed at, partly remained unknown. The solution of the question and therewith the criticism of the Movement in this respect were reserved for the "Workers' Educational Association".

As an impressive witness for the fact that here a great task had to be accomplished of far more decisive importance for the destiny of the nation than all that the University Extension Movement could ever achieve, let a petition of a Committee of the Northumberland miners here be quoted in which, at the beginning of the eighties, they asked the Northumberland Miners' Union to grant a financial support to the University Extension lectures.

“ The promoters of the University Extension Scheme beg your pecuniary assistance towards this system of higher education. You are now asked to say whether the education which has hitherto been the monopoly of the wealthy classes shall be brought within reach of your own class. Will you aid in closing the intellectual gaps which separate the various classes of society and in repelling the charge of ignorance which is ever being hurled against the working-classes? You on whose shoulders the drudgery of the world falls; you whose physical energies are taxed to the utmost; you are asked to make possible the cultivation of those moral and intellectual faculties which you in common with all men possess. It need not be said that those are the faculties which raise men above the brute creation, and that it is only by their cultivation that they can enjoy life thoroughly. The works of our great poets, painters, and sculptors are still the monopoly of those who are rich enough to purchase a high-class education.

“ The beauties of external nature are hidden from the working-man. Will you aid in making the enjoyment of those pleasures by your class possible? Do you desire that the working-man should attain intellectual manhood, and walk through the world without any sense of intellectual infirmity?

“ Successful as the Scheme has been among the Northumberland miners, the Committee beg to remind

you that the necessary funds have been from time to time raised only by the greatest effort. The efforts are too severe to be continued much longer. You have funds at your disposal which cannot be put to a better purpose. The greatest battle in which your class has been engaged is yet to be fought—the battle against intellectual darkness. The attention and consideration which your grievances receive from the public and the legislature depends on the ability with which you can plead your case through the newspapers and on the public platforms. The amount of wages you receive depends on the ability of those who represent you in the arbitration court or on the sliding scale committee. Thus your very wage questions are really educational ones. If you do not want this higher education, surely you will aid in educating the men on whose brains your wages and your position in the estimation of the public and legislature depends.

“ The legislature has enacted that colliery managers shall pass an examination. It is meet that those on whose skill and watchfulness depends the safety of so many human beings should be fully qualified. But this qualification has handed the position of managers over to those who can afford to purchase a high-class education. An enormous increase of salaries has taken place, raising the cost of production and indirectly lowering the wages, while those who ought to be fitted to fill the positions are excluded from them.

“ You ask that overmen and deputy-overmen should pass similar examinations. Do you mean to hand over those positions to men who have only a theoretical acquaintance with the work, men whose want of practical knowledge would really increase the dangers which surround you? Do you mean that another increase in the cost of production shall take place by the handing over of those positions to the educated class, and that

the only remaining gate to promotion shall be closed against your own class? To be consistent, you must enable men of your own class to fill those positions, and to pass any examination which the legislature shall impose. You can only do this by aiding the work of education which is now going on. The Committee is composed of working-men—mostly of your own Association; men who know how hard it is to acquire knowledge without the aid of good teachers. A four years' acquaintance with the Scheme has enabled them to realise how thoroughly it meets the requirements of the working-classes. They would most earnestly urge you to support it from your local funds. Surely you, who owe so much to the struggles and sacrifices of your fathers, will not refuse to aid in a Movement which will enable your children to stand on the same level as the children of the rich and educated classes".

The document gives an interesting revelation of the motives of the working-man who longs for education. Firstly, for an ideal reason: he feels a burning longing for an intellectual life which has hitherto been closed to him. Secondly, the intellectual training is to strengthen him in his economic struggle. And lastly, which is connected with this, he sees a hierarchy of officials growing up over the mass of workers which he would desire to be recruited from the intellectual élite of the working-class itself. It is no longer the ambition of the working-man to work himself out of his own rank, to join the middle class. Rather to the talented a new sphere of "possibilities" of employment is opened in attending to the interests of his own class.

The request was refused. But it meant a great advance, that a powerful organisation of working-men should discuss at all earnestly the question of the support of such an educational work. Only gradually, when by the growing power of the Labour Party the

question of the political representation of the working-class came more to the fore, did the Trade Unions in increased measure interest themselves in educational questions, and in 1905 a Trade Union Congress demanded in a resolution, "That provision be made for continued education of capable students through the University courses".

Into the gap which the University Extension Movement here left open, the "Workers' Educational Association" stepped.

EXCURSUS II

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION ¹

"The reforms which we have in view as members of the Workers' Educational Association are of a most revolutionary and of the most constructive character. They assume in the first place that the great forces which shall finally emancipate Labour are in the working-man himself and the working-woman herself. Not by gifts or by favours, not by patronage or by any extraneous agent, is this evolution of the inner force of life to come: it has to come from the people themselves".—MARGARET McMILLAN.

SINCE the industrial revolution at the end of the eighteenth century the problem how the knowledge and culture of our time are to be imparted to the working-class forms a vital question for modern industrial States, and especially for England. It is important for the working-class itself as merely in point of numbers a considerable section of the population. Its peculiar position is characterised by the fact that on the whole it has broken away from the intellectual tradition, and is thereby cut off from the sources of mental nourishment which are most important for the rest of the people. But, at the same time, it has been transferred from the quiet uniformity of the burgher or peasant conditions of life into an atmosphere overladen with intellectual strain, saturated with a medley of thoughts and opinions, which keenly excite the hunger

¹ Address: The Workers' Educational Association, 14 Red Lion Square, Holborn, W.C.

and curiosity of every active brain, and fill it with problems without being able to offer satisfaction and solution. And while an increased division of labour has made the working-man as such into a machine, he feels all the more the need of getting into touch with life by means of his intellect.

In this condition of intellectual helplessness an ever greater share in the administration and legislation of a State which is becoming more and more democratic, is allotted to the working-class, which has grown to be a powerful factor in political as well as economic life, and thus its lack of education becomes a direct national danger.

But, finally,—a fact which lies less on the surface and does not make itself felt from day to day, but in the course of time must produce a much more dangerous crisis, and even undermine the whole life of the people,—there exists the danger of a definite schism in the matter of culture, because of the mental isolation of the working-class, and the embitterment against the rest of the nation which as a rule accompanies it. It admits of no scientific decision whether as its consequence a separate culture of the working-man can be developed, but it is beyond question that in any case this division of the nation into two halves means the end of all organic national life. Thereby healthy evolution on both sides is prevented, and even if the working-man could escape from the condition of lack of culture by making a culture of his own, yet this would only result in a decisive struggle between the old culture and the new; for the existence side by side of two diametrically opposed worlds of culture within the limits of one nation is inconceivable.

These more or less clearly felt needs in England led in the course of the nineteenth century, at intervals of from twenty to thirty years, to ever new attempts at educational reform.

The first of these attempts was undertaken by Robert Owen, whose abstruse edifice of thought had from the first no stability. It was erected on the basis of the blessed life of a true benefactor of men, a life for the success of which only a strong and kind humanity, and no theory, holds the key.

He was followed by William Lovett, the cabinet-maker, who possessed a very remarkable insight, far in advance of his time, into the education problem. He was the first Englishman who went in for a system of national educational institutions for adults which should be open to all. In 1840 he wrote: "The reflective portion of our brethren are beginning to perceive the great necessity for intellectual and moral preparation;—not as set forth by those 'educationists' who seek to spread their own exclusive or sectarian notions, or by those who seek to train up the youths of our country to be submissive admirers of 'things as they are'; but for establishing such a just and extensive system of education as shall ere long make our country intellectually great, politically free, and socially happy".¹

In 1836 he founded "The London Working-Man's Association". Its aims were in much so allied to those of the W.E.A. of our own day that an excerpt of the regulations is here given.

The object of the Association was :

" 1. To draw into one bond of unity the intelligent and influential portion of the working classes in town and country.

" 2. To seek, by every legal means, to place all classes

¹ In the preface to *Chartism: A New Organisation of the People*, embracing a plan for the education and improvement of the people, politically and socially; addressed to the working-classes of the United Kingdom, and more especially to the advocates of the rights and liberties of the whole people as set forth in the "People's Charter". Written in Warwick Gaol, by William Lovett, Cabinet-Maker, and John Collins, Tool-Maker.

of society in possession of their equal political and social rights.

“ 4. To promote, by all available means, the education of the rising generation, and the extirpation of those systems which tend to future slavery.

“ 8. To form a library of reference and useful information ; to maintain a place where they can associate for mental improvement, and where their brethren from the country can meet with kindred minds actuated by one great motive—that of benefiting politically, socially, and morally, the useful classes. Though the persons forming this Association will be at all times disposed to co-operate with all those who seek to promote the happiness of the multitude, yet being convinced from experience that the division of interests in the various classes, in the present state of things, is too often destructive of that union of sentiment which is essential to the prosecution of any great object, they have resolved to confine their Members as far as practicable to the working classes. But as there are great differences of opinion as to where the line should be drawn which separates the working classes from the other portions of society, they leave to the Members themselves to determine whether the candidate proposed is eligible to become a Member ”.

The document is historically of the very highest interest. Here is an insight into the significance of the problem of the education of the working class, combined with a breadth of view which embraces the whole nation. But the time was not yet ripe. The pressing political need diverted attention from purely intellectual ideals, and led to a widening of the programme (see No. 2 above) which made the Association useless for the pursuit of practical ends, whatever importance its activity in pro-

paganda work might have.¹ And, lastly, political strife rendered inaudible the voices which called to a work that could only thrive in peace. Besides the co-operation of the educated was lacking. Lovett worked all his life long, but without success, to bring together the middle class and the working class reformers.

The words of Carlyle, the great awakener of the social conscience of the upper classes, had not yet found an echo in wide circles ;—Lovett founded his Association of working-men only two years after the publication of *Sartor Resartus*. At the end of the forties, however, there came on the scene a group of men who took up anew in Carlyle's sense and under his influence the work of education, the Christian Socialists, especially Frederick Denison Maurice, John Malcolm Ludlow, Charles Kingsley, and apart from them, but to be mentioned here in the same connection, John Ruskin. They found themselves associated in work at the Working-Men's College, London. Maurice's aim in its founding was twofold : it was to be a means for the education of the working-man, and a field on which members of different classes of the people should meet in common work.

In Maurice's first circular letter on the subject, which was published in February 1854, he says : " The name, ' College ', was taken because it is an old and venerable one. It implies a Society for fellow work, a Society in which men are not held together by the bond of buying and selling, a Society in which they meet not as belonging to a class or caste, but as having a common life which God has given to them, and which He will cultivate in them. . . . Some of us who belong to professions, as lawyers, physicians, ministers of the Gospel, artists, schoolmasters, have thought that we might fulfil our own duties far better, and understand better how they bear upon each other, if we could come into closer inter-

¹ From one of their petitions arose " The People's Charter ".

course with working-men, if we could bring them into a College with us, if we could spend some of our evenings in helping them to set their thoughts in order on the subjects in which they are most interested, and to gain information on points about which they feel ignorant. . . . Such Colleges we wish to see established in every great town of England, at least half a dozen of them in London. Ours is only a beginning ”.

The plan of such a College was in itself just and practicable ; the fruitful work of the College after nearly sixty years shows that. But a Movement capable of life did not spring from the suggestion, and the other Colleges founded in the following years mostly came to grief without having achieved any great results. The problem of the education of the working-man was still unsolved. The reason of the failure cannot here be examined in detail. One reason, in any case, is that it did not succeed in securing for itself permanently the right teachers in the provinces—in London this is naturally much easier—that is to say, sufficient interest in social work did not yet exist. Also a national system of education can never rest on institutions arising from isolated private initiative, and depending on an ever ready spirit of sacrifice. The great machinery was lacking for whose creation the reformer, the creator of intellectual life, seems always least suited.

And history has taught, and the knowledge of the industrial worker daily teaches us afresh, that he cannot be helped from above, that a Movement for the education of working-men must be a Movement of working-men, if it is to have a vigorous success. If an institution is put at their disposal, a number, comparatively very small, of working-men will make use of it. But very soon an invasion of clerks and other middle-class people will alter the character of the place, and the influx of working-men is not easily increased to any great extent ;

for the impulse to systematic education, to knowledge, in the strict and high sense of the word, must as a rule first be awakened in him, and this pioneer work the College does not do. Therefore always less than 50 per cent. of the students of the Working-Men's College are working-men.

It is deserving of mention that one of the first demands for University Extension comes also from the same source. In the first number of *The Christian Socialist* (November 1850) Ludlow writes: "We shall all agree, probably, that our Universities must be universal in fact as well as in name; must cease to be monopolised for the benefit of one or two privileged classes; we may differ as to the means by which that monopoly is to be broken up, that universality attained, whether by lowering the benefits of University education to the reach of the many, or by drawing up to them the pre-eminent few of every class".

Thirty years later a new generation is at work: Toynbee, T. H. Green, James Stuart, the father of the University Extension Movement,¹ and others. The ideals have remained the same. One feels that these men are under the influence of Ruskin. But the times have changed. If Ruskin looked back, if he wished to bring to a standstill the evolution of his age, which appeared to him to be steering for the precipice, they looked confidently to the future. They crossed the threshold between the old and the new age on which he stood hesitating.

In Toynbee, the democratic pupil of his conservative master, the new spirit found its most brilliant expression. He believed in the ideal of the democratic State, but he also saw the duties which were thereby laid on the working-man, and the difficulty of responding to them. In his still famous speech "Education of Co-

¹ James Stuart died on 13th October 1913.

operators " (1882) he said : " The workman is now not only independent, he shares likewise in the government of the State ; yet at the very time this responsibility is laid upon him, he has entered upon conditions of industrial life which seem to exhaust his energies and dull his intelligence. A law of political development has slowly raised him from the position of a serf to that of a citizen, a law of industrial development has degraded him, by division of labour, from a man into a machine. These are the difficulties we have to face, the complicated character of modern citizenship and the deadening effect of minute subdivision of labour, and these it is which make the education of which I speak, the education of the citizen in his duties as a citizen, indispensable ".

Here is laid the foundation of the W.E.A.

From Toynbee's intellectual world arose the Settlement Movement which tried, with unequalled energy and success, to overcome the chasm between the classes by pure humanity, developed itself, especially in the case of Toynbee Hall, in endeavours at education, and carried the " Social Spirit " into the widest circles.

The name of James Stuart, on the other hand, denotes the origin of the University Extension Movement by which a comprehensive machinery, and one which promised much chiefly by its elasticity, was formed for the spread of the highest education, but had no contact with the working-man.

A generation grew up which had enjoyed the benefit of a universal national education, and thus, if not more hungry for culture, was yet more capable of absorbing a higher culture.

The increased democratic development of the national life brought with it the result that the national importance of the intellectual education of the working-man became clear to circles which were not at heart interested in his lot.

And, finally, in the constantly strengthening political and economic organisation of the working-class which was now becoming conscious of itself as such, an opportunity was given, on the one side of an articulate expression of its wishes, and on the other of their satisfaction, which had never heretofore existed, while at the same time the daily experience of these organisations showed that it was a condition of their existence to have intelligent and mentally trained forces at their disposal.

Thus at the end of the last century as never before the ground was prepared for a successful Movement for the education of the working-class, and the time seemed to wait for the man to call this into life and to organise it ; a flaming up here and there as a consequence of the University Extension Movement had shown that the material for the fire was not lacking.

At that time there was working in a Co-operative Society near Toynbee Hall a clerk born in the simplest conditions, but a man with remarkable powers of organising, speaking, and writing : Albert Mansbridge. The pious enthusiasm with which he came to the help of the intellectual need of the working-class made him a prophet and the creator of the spiritual Movement which is organised in the W.E.A.

He realised what the time demanded. He saw that the improved Elementary Schools threatened to become a danger instead of a blessing, because they gave into the hand of the working-man weapons which he did not understand how to use. He saw that in a democratic age this meant a national danger. He had the penetration to recognise the needs and the unused possibilities of the University Extension Movement, and he understood that salvation lay in its reformation.

In January and March 1903 he published in the *University Extension Journal*, the organ of the University Extension Movement, two articles which asked for

the help of the Co-operative Societies and Trades Unions, and expressed the hope that by this means the Movement would be more completely adapted to the need of the working-man. In May a further article followed, in which the foundation of an Association was suggested with the special aim "to make ready and prepare the Democratic Mind for the ordinary operations of University Extension". The plan found support on all sides ; on the 16th of May a temporary society was started, and, on the occasion of the Summer Meeting at Oxford in August, a Conference of members of Co-operative Societies, Trades Unions, and members of the University Extension Movement met under the presidency of the Lord Bishop of Hereford, in order to discuss the definite organisation of the Association. The result was the foundation of the W.E.A. Its regulations in their present form are as follows :

" The Association shall be known as ' The Workers' Educational Association '. It shall be definitely unsectarian and non-political.

" Its object shall be to promote the Higher Education of Working-men and Women.

" It shall, in its capacity as a co-ordinating Federation of Working-class and Educational interests, endeavour to fulfil its object in the following ways :—

" (a) By arousing the interest of the Workers in Higher Education, and by directing their attention to the facilities already existing.

" (b) By inquiring into the needs and feelings of the Workers in regard to Education, and by representing them to the Board of Education, Universities, Local Education Authorities, and Educational Institutions.

" (c) By providing, either in conjunction with the afore-mentioned bodies or otherwise, facilities for studies of interest to the Workers which may have been hitherto overlooked.

“(d) By publishing, or arranging for the publication of such reports, pamphlets, books, and magazines, as it deems necessary”.

It is difficult to give an idea of the importance of the W.E.A., in the first place, because the ten years of its existence are very short in comparison with the work it has set itself to do; and, secondly, because, as the sketch of its activity already shows, this is not of a kind which is easily included in dates and figures. It is, as has already been said, to be understood as a spiritual Movement, since only a spiritual Movement can solve the problem of the education of the working-man, which means bringing the working-man to education just as much as bringing education to the working-man. It will attain this end by using as far as possible all existing institutions. If a gap exists, then the Society is ready to spring into the breach, but only as a makeshift.

The spirit of the Movement meets us in its meetings, its publications, and most clearly in its leader, Albert Mansbridge, who is still its heart and soul.

Mr. Mansbridge is best characterised by the term “pious enthusiast”. He has not a drop of blood in him which does not belong to the cause to which he has given his life. With the impressive monotony of the prophet he repeats his Gospel: “Give education to the working-man. Working-men, educate yourselves. Develop your mind”. He makes no secret of it that he prays for the W.E.A., and whatever attitude the working-man may have towards religion, he lays hold of the education question, which he identifies with the question of spiritual life, with religious intensity, and forthwith understands that one must pray for this cause if one prays at all.

Side by side with utter devotion Mr. Mansbridge has the unswerving faith in his cause which makes others believe. If one wonders at the power of the W.E.A. to attract distinguished men to its service, the explanation lies in

the atmosphere of undoubting confidence which surrounds the whole work.

Finally, he is a great hero-worshipper, and has that belief in the value of personality which must lie at the root of all educational work. He has written, which is of special interest in connection with this study of the Settlement Movement, in enthusiastic words a sketch of the life of Toynbee, and he also has for many years been associated with Toynbee Hall.

With the members of the Association one gains a striking experience: the Movement has become such an ingredient of their life, that one cannot meet with them without the W.E.A. passing before one's eyes. They look upon themselves as members of a brotherhood which is fighting the most important fight that has to be waged to-day: the fight for the spiritual life of the masses. All are friends for the sake of the common cause. It is significant what value is placed on social gatherings to which often the wives and children are brought. But the most impressive manifestation of this spirit is the yearly gathering. It is natural that the Association, which is based upon the co-operation between the representatives of education and the working-men, had and still has to contend with much distrust from the extreme Socialist Party; and its deliberate policy in favour of the reconciliation of class differences, as well as the co-operation of churchmen have made it many enemies. The most convincing protest against the aspersion that the Association aims at the delivery of the working-man into the hands of capitalism, is the "National Demonstration". It always forms the first item on the programme of the annual gatherings which take place every autumn in different towns, industrial centres if possible, which invite the W.E.A. as guests.

The demonstration in Manchester in 1911 took place before an audience of 3000 men and women. On the

platform were the president of the Association, the Rev. William Temple, Headmaster of Repton, one of the most capable men sent out by Oxford during the last twenty years. There were also Mr. Mansbridge; the Mayor of Manchester; the Bishop of Manchester; the Bishop of Oxford; the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester; the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, Professor Sadler, one of the greatest authorities on educational questions; further, a member of the United Working-Men's Organisations of Manchester; the M.P. of the Labour Party for Manchester, etc. The mere presence of these men answered for the neutrality and universality of the Association. No more, as in Lovett's days, must the help of the educated be foregone. The gulf is bridged, and the W.E.A. is a witness that the work of the Social Idealists was not in vain. It may be mentioned that Mr. T. E. Harvey, the successor of Canon Barnett at Toynbee Hall, was treasurer of the Association for several years, a sign of the strong co-operation of Settlement circles in the Movement.

On the following Sunday a Festival Service was held for the W.E.A. in Manchester Cathedral. This, like the possibility of the co-operation of the clergy, proves that the mistrust of the thinking working-men against the Church is beginning to disappear in England, a phenomenon which can here only be hinted at, and which finds its confirmation in Labour Week at Browning Hall (see p. 110).

Also the business part of these gatherings, which does not take place in public, is full of the same spirit. A proof of this is an extract from the Presidential Address at the annual meeting in 1909:

"Labour has become conscious of its place in the community. It has organised itself so that it may effectually fill that place; and through that organisation it is possible to keep alive enthusiasm and faith and work, which previously had had to depend upon a few

individuals. That makes a great difference. The task before us is quite gigantic, for what we are doing is nothing less than creating the whole spirit of the future of the English community—nothing less than that. Our work is almost a profanity, unless we are aiming quite consciously and quite deliberately at creating all through the community a new sense of opportunity and responsibility. And that is a much bigger thing than supplying material for the sharpening of men's wits. We want to do that. But while we are doing that, we want to bind men together in real brotherhood with one another and in real brotherhood with all who have at heart, in any sense, the welfare of the country. That will need all our faith. It will need all the faith that we can summon up in human nature and its possibilities.

“ But we have as the handmaid of our faith great hope. We see that there is now an opportunity that has never been presented before ; we see that it is possible to mass forces that never could be massed before. Not long ago, there met a conference representing Labour and all the Universities of England. . . . At that gathering there was an absolute agreement that this work must be allowed to go forward, and there was an absolute agreement that all educational bodies, together with this Association and the representatives of Labour, must co-operate to that end. . . . It is the greatest educational opportunity, as I believe, that has ever been before any nation. In many respects other nations are ahead of us in educational matters ; but I do not think there is any nation which has ever begun such a system of unifying its educational apparatus and the demands of Labour. It may become, in a sense, a single gigantic University, which will operate through all its members, those members being Universities and University Colleges on the one side and Labour Organisations on the other, all being left absolutely free to develop their own characteristic

features, and yet all contributing to the one common work.

“ There is considerable ground for hope ; and with faith and hope we are accustomed to unite love. This work will never come to anything if we, for one moment, let our attention be so concentrated upon machinery and upon educational apparatus that we forget the human beings for whom it is all undertaken. Even the future which inspires us must not be a vision only of University buildings with doors standing open, but a vision of happy, intelligent human beings. And unless our hearts are warmed by that sense of what can be done for our fellow-citizens, and unless we are prepared to put off, perhaps, some advantages for ourselves in order that the future generations may be better placed, unless we are prepared genuinely to work for the citizens of the future, all this effort will come to very little. It must be done in a spirit of absolute self-denial ”.

The spirit of the W.E.A. finds manifold expression in the *Highway*, the monthly journal of the Association ; it is the same tone, whether Mr. Mansbridge calls to the work, whether Miss Margaret McMillan, the most famous woman belonging to the Movement, sketches in affecting words the misery of the children, who must be helped because from them grows the new generation for whose benefit the work is to be done, or whether, in a series of historical, economical, or philosophical essays, results of scientific research are dealt with. For though they come from the pen of the first authorities, and stand on a very high level, they who write for the W.E.A. know that science here has to be the servant of life. For “ life ” is the central idea which holds everything together. The W.E.A. is to be understood as the concentrated expression of the endeavour of an élite of the English working-class after an intensified spiritual life. Therein lies the danger of a division of forces, for the field is

endless, and the strongest obstacle lies moreover elsewhere, in the economic conditions, so that a permanent temptation exists of a diversion of attention in this direction. But therein also lies the very strength of the W.E.A., and this is the reason why so much space has been devoted to the description of its ideal side, since in the first instance it represents a spiritual Movement, in strict contrast to the University Extension Movement. Because this side was lacking in the latter, it could have no success among working-men. It did not take the education problem seriously enough. A middle-class public can make an interesting game of occupation with intellectual matters, but the working-man cannot. A middle-class public is attracted by a piquant alternation of lecture subjects, the working-man is repelled by it. And, on the other hand, a middle-class public has the intellectual mobility, which quickly grasps where an opportunity of education is offered ; the working-man must often be won by slow, wearisome work, not by placards, but by personal effort. A Movement which will attract him must recruit, must missionise, that is, must be a cause at heart for each of its supporters. These are the inner reasons which speak for the W.E.A. A glance at its methods of work will show how its spirit has hitherto been embodied.

In the first place, a word shall be said about the organisation. The Association consists of the Central Authority, 5 District Authorities, and 110 Local Branches (1912). Individuals (not under 16) as well as Societies can join as members the Central Authority, a District Authority, or a Branch. The smallest annual subscription is a guinea for Societies, 2s. 6d. for individual members. The Local Branches hand over one-twelfth of the subscriptions received to the District Authorities, and these one-tenth of theirs to the Central Authority. At the head of the organisation is a Council which consists of the officials

of the Association, two representatives of every District Authority, one of every Affiliated Society, and ten of the private members. It appoints committees as necessity arises. The chief officials of the Association are president, treasurer, and general secretary (Albert Mansbridge).

Changes in the constitution can only be carried at the annual general meeting. Individual members have one vote for this, societies affiliated to the Central Authority 40, to the District Authorities 30, to the Local Branches 20 each.

In 1912 there belonged to the Association 1879 organisations, including 648 Trades Unions, Trades Councils and Branches, 261 Co-operative Committees, 299 Adult Schools and Classes, 16 University Bodies, 18 Local Education Authorities, 153 Working-Men's Clubs and Institutes, 113 Teachers' Associations, 161 Educational and Literary Societies, and 210 various societies mainly composed of workpeople.

The following table gives an idea of the growth of the W.E.A. :—

	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.
Local Branches .	...	8	13	47	50	54	71	86	110
Affiliated Societies	12	100 ¹	238	622	925	1,124	1,389	1,541	1,879
Private Members .	135	1,000	2,612	4,343	5,257	5,484	5,801	5,345	7,011

¹ Estimated.

The number of men and women studying in courses promoted by the Association is about 35,000 (1913).

The comparatively small number of private members and its falling off in 1911 is explained by the fact that the educational advantages created by the Association are open to all, whether they are members or not, so that many who make use of them do not deem it necessary to enter the W.E.A.

The work of the Association is so varied in kind that it cannot be described in all its details. That it develops a successful propaganda, and has understood how to interest wide circles in its objects, is proved by the National Demonstrations, and by its list of members. But no report can give an exhaustive description of the endless detailed work of the Local Branches. Every one of them forms a centre for the educational life of its district, so far as the working-class is concerned. It represents an information bureau whose aim is in the first place to make known to all inquirers the opportunities that exist for satisfying their wishes, and in the second place to learn to know these wishes, and to discover any gaps in the existing arrangements, which the Association seeks to fill up as far as possible. Thus it is led to arrange courses of lectures, and to organise Reading Circles, Classes, tours through Museums and Picture Galleries, inspections of industrial undertakings, etc. Each individual receives all the guidance as to reading and private study which he desires. With all this it has already been said that the work is also one of proselytism. But it is to be pointed out that therein lies its special characteristic. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that every member of the Association is a pioneer of its endeavours, and often in a touchingly naïve way spreads around him wherever he goes an atmosphere of desire for knowledge.

To this detail work on the one hand corresponds on the other hand a vast activity of the Central Authority. It is to-day not only the centre of the Association, but in it are gathered up as nowhere else the threads of all educational organisations which concern working-men. It thereby becomes a very important factor of information in questions of education. Albert Mansbridge represents it on an Advisory Committee affiliated to the Board of Education, which, *e.g.*, a few years ago, published a report

on the question of Compulsory Continuation Schools. It aims at employing the information thus acquired in the service of legislative and administrative reforms. The resolution passed at the Annual Meeting in 1911 betokens a step in this direction: "That the correct use of educational endowments being a matter of vital importance in the development of a national system of education, this meeting requests the Council of the Association to prepare at the earliest possible date a report on such endowments, and instructs it to urge the Prime Minister to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the matter". In this controlling and reforming activity of the Association lie great future possibilities.

Most important are the relations of the W.E.A. to the Universities. It has been mentioned that the origin of the Association was closely connected with hopes of a reform of the University Extension Movement. In pursuit of this aim, at the time of the Summer Meeting in Oxford in 1907, a Conference was called by the W.E.A., consisting of representatives of 250 organisations of working-men and Education Boards. This commissioned a Committee to draw up a report on ways and means of making University Education accessible to working-men. The Committee consisted of seven members of the University, nominated by the Vice-Chancellor, and seven representatives of working-men's organisations. The report, "Oxford and Working-Class Education", appeared in 1908, and is the most important document of the Movement.

It gives a summary of the endeavours for the education of working-men of the nineteenth century: it reports upon the Adult Sunday Schools,¹ and the Mechanics' In-

¹ The Adult School Movement, which originated from the Quakers, has proved a great help to the efforts of the W.E.A. by the awakening of intellectual interests and the imparting of Elementary Education. In 1909, there were 1662 schools, with over 110,000 members.

stitutes, whose number in the middle of last century reached over 600, with more than 100,000 members, and which then suddenly disappeared, partly because they were not sufficiently in touch with the working-class, partly because the latter lacked the most elementary preparation, partly because they did not spring from a pure ideal of education, but sought to encourage the technical education of the working-man, and thereby awakened hopes of material improvement which were not fulfilled. The endeavours of the Co-operative Societies in this direction are described, which from the beginning have shown a special interest in educational questions; furthermore, the Working Men's Colleges, especially that in London, and lastly, an Institution which is of importance owing to its special programme, Ruskin College at Oxford. It was founded in 1899, chiefly by the help of an American married couple. It is no University College, and does not prepare for the obtaining of a degree. Rather it wishes to give the working-men an education by the best available means, especially from the point of view of qualification for the fulfilment of their duties as citizens, for a judicious share in public life in the State and the community. In accordance with this, Political Economy, Political History, the Science of Administration and Sociology are the chief objects of study. The College is managed by a Committee, consisting of members of the University and representatives of Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies. Organisations of working-men found Scholarships. There is not one of the students who, after completing his studies at Oxford, has not returned to his work. In the first ten years of its existence 450 working-men resided in the College, generally for one year. An idea of the results obtained is shown by a Diploma Examination in Political Economy, in which nine Oxford students and twelve working-men from Ruskin College were examined. Of

the students one passed with, eight without, distinction ; of the working-men eight with, four without, distinction. This is the more remarkable, as the students of Ruskin College represent the higher average, but not the élite of the working-class.¹

The report gives then, with a breadth characteristic of the conservative spirit of the Englishman, a summary of the history of Oxford, and shows that though in the view of the founders as well as in practice, the Colleges were not expressly destined for "the poor", as is often said in the foundation statutes, yet, at all events, they were not intended for a privileged class, and that only in the course of time University life became more luxurious, and the aristocracy occupied Oxford. This development could take place with the less disturbance, because in England the University does not form the only preparation for a whole series of professions as it does on the Continent. There is, therefore, much less study merely for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, and hence the University could uphold, not only in the conception of a few idealists, but in practice, the aristocratic ideal of education—the harmonic unfolding of mental powers. If indeed the old Universities had not kept alive this ideal in such purity, then to-day it could never be claimed by the working-men. But the result was that University study became a class privilege.

There has been a twofold change in the last twenty years: the working-man has become more capable of deriving advantage from a University Education, and his desire for it is making itself heard. The reasons for this are the improved elementary education and the increased share in public life. And the Universities are under an obligation to accede to this demand for the granting of higher education as a right. As national Institutions they have their place at the head of a universal

¹ The details are not taken from the report.

system of education, yet to be formed, which shall reach from the Elementary School up to them, and be open for every capable person not only in theory but in practice. This is of vital interest for the nation. The Secretary of a Trade Union and the Labour Member in Parliament need an Oxford training just as much as the Government official or the lawyer. And, on the other hand, our economic organisation leads to this, that the different classes of the nation lose contact with one another and the power to form a judgment upon each other, so that the opportunity must be offered to the leading men of each class of forming, at least in a scientific way, a wide outlook over the whole of the historic and economic development and thus to escape from the narrowness of the class standpoint, without thereby stepping out of their class; for this, it is expressly emphasised, is not to be desired. The few cases in which a special talent points to a definite calling do not form the real problem, and are unimportant in comparison to the indirect elevation of the whole class by the elevation of the intellectual level of its leaders.

A criticism of the Oxford University Extension Movement (the report does not concern itself with the Movement as a whole) shows that it is not suited to the needs of the working-man. As reasons for this there are mentioned the financial difficulty which necessitates too high contributions from those who take part in it, too large numbers of students, and consequently too many concessions to the taste of a large audience, or a very extensive private support, for which the working-man is not ready to go begging; moreover, the instruction is not systematic enough, which is explained by the necessity of considering the wishes of the public; and, lastly, the lecturers are not sufficiently recruited from University lecturers, whereby the level and the reputation of the work achieved suffer. The pioneer work

of the University Extension courses is fully recognised, and its continuation held to be desirable also for the working-class, though only as supplementary to a new Institution, in the recommendation of which the report culminates: the "Tutorial Class".

This is a reformed University Extension lecture with a discussion following, and suited to the needs of the working-men. In accordance with this it may be characterised as follows: ¹—

1. A chief defect of the University Extension Movement consisted in its insufficient contact with the wishes of the working-men. During the last decades much had been said of the gulf between the classes, but the consequence of this for the system of education had not been drawn, namely, that the results of our culture could not be offered to the working-man who had lost touch with it, in the same form as to a middle-class audience; and that he, in accordance with the conditions of his life, has quite other interests and needs than the latter. A share of the working-men in the organisation of the classes was recognised as a condition of success, in the form of Joint Committees added to the University Extension Boards, consisting of seven members of the University, and seven representatives of working-men's organisations. The object of the Committees is the organisation of the classes, the provision of the necessary funds, the appointment of teachers, etc.

2. For the same reasons a personal relation between the teacher and his pupil is imperative. The chief work has not been done by the lecture. A man can be a distinguished University lecturer, and yet quite incapable of adapting himself to the point of view of the working-man, of understanding the presuppositions from which his questions and replies arise, and thus putting himself

¹ The following exposition of the problem of the Tutorial Class is independent of the report.

into relation with him in the discussion. But in addition to that, the lecturer has towards every member of the Class all the duties of a tutor. He has not only to "correct" the written work, but to comment and criticise it fully, and to explain thoroughly to individuals or small groups of his pupils special difficulties which arise from it. But still more he has as far as possible to get to know them personally, for only then can the way be paved for a real understanding. But naturally not every University lecturer is ready and fitted for this, and the selection of suitable teachers thus forms a specially difficult and important task. They are preferably chosen from those who have already taught working-men, in Ruskin College, in Settlements, in connection with the W.E.A. or on other occasions. But even if the instructor possesses all the requisite qualifications, yet the new danger arises that he may indeed get into touch with the working-men, but lose his touch with the Universities and with scholarship, and the report therefore requires simultaneous teaching work in Oxford, whereby the equal value of the working-men's course with University lectures may be ensured. But up till now in many cases it has not been possible to put this principle into practice.¹

¹ Cf. Mansbridge, *University Tutorial Classes*, pp. 62-63: "In the future, as indeed in the past, there will be, roughly, three types of tutors. The first, numbering at present twenty-six, will consist of those who are engaged mainly in University work, such as professors, lecturers, or college tutors, able to take only one class, but desiring to do so because of the interest of the work, and its power of adding to their experience and knowledge. . . . The second, numbering at present twenty-one, will consist of persons engaged in other occupations or in teaching other than in a University or University College. This type of person is common in London. Men of high capacity enter the Civil Service, and in many cases welcome the opportunity of continuing their studies and making use of their training. . . . The third, numbering at present fourteen, will consist of persons employed directly for the work and giving the whole of their time to the conduct of the classes. . . ."

3. If one supposes that the representation of working-men in the organisation, and a suitable teaching body have been granted, yet in the third place the problem remains how to satisfy local needs by these means. Here the first principle must be not to force what is not wished for. Before a Class is formed, representatives of those who want to attend one must have expressed their wish, and have promised their help towards the realisation of the same. They propose the subject of instruction and eventually also the lecturer. Where a branch of the W.E.A. exists, this task as a matter of course falls to it.

4. It corresponds neither to the wishes nor to the needs of the working-men that the subjects of instruction should follow each other in such an unmethodical manner as was usually the case with the University Extension lectures. Consequently the Tutorial Class consists regularly of a three years' course (the report demands a minimum of two years), to attendance at which the members of the Class are bound by their entrance.

5. Therefore, in order that effective work can be done in the Class, it is necessary that the number of students should be limited. Thirty is regarded as a maximum which it is not desirable to exceed. The University Extension courses had always on financial grounds speculated in as large audiences as possible.

6. For those who do not possess the necessary previous education for attendance at the Class, preparatory courses are proposed, which are established to-day in a number of cases. The report assumed that these could be entrusted to working-men who had enjoyed a University education. But experience shows that these must be placed in at least as good hands as the actual Tutorial Class, because otherwise not only an unreliable foundation is laid, but also the pupils are driven away, and made mistrustful of the whole undertaking.

7. In order that the classes may accomplish what is

expected of them, besides lecture and discussion private work must be done. Regular written work and reading are a condition of this. In this direction the providing of books which the working-man cannot buy forms a difficulty. Public libraries and travelling libraries instituted by Oxford and imitated by the other Universities have here to help as far as they can. In addition to this, the members of the classes have at their disposal the W.E.A. library at Toynbee Hall.

8. The financial question is a difficult problem. If it is desired to have first-class teachers then one cannot be sparing in regard to them. The Tutorial Class lecturer receives £80 for a sessional course consisting of 24 lessons (2×24 hours) in the case of Oxford, where the standard is especially high. £30 a course is the lowest possible amount in the case of the new Universities. In addition to the fee, travelling expenses are paid to the tutor. There are also charges for books, accommodation, correspondence, etc., so that for the arrangement of a Class from £80 to £100 are required. The membership fee is 1s. The working-man wishes to be free from private subscriptions as far as possible. Therefore grants from the Board of Education, the Local Government Board, and the working-men's organisations are a condition of existence for the undertaking.

The scheme meant a venture based on an extraordinary confidence in the enthusiasm and intellectual capacity of the working-man; and here the experiments were encouraging, which the W.E.A. had made with two of its classes established in Longton and Rochdale, the latter herein remaining true to its historic tradition.

The success exceeded all expectations. In October 1908 a Joint Committee, as the report proposes, was formed in Oxford, and in the second edition of the report which appeared in August 1909, the existence of eight Tutorial Classes could already be notified in

connection with Oxford. Since then Joint Committees have further been formed in connection with the Universities of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Durham, Birmingham, Sheffield, Bristol, Cambridge, and the University Colleges at Cardiff and Nottingham. The University College, Reading, has a Joint Committee for the town of Reading. The University bodies without full Joint Committees are the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and the University College of North Wales, Bangor.¹ The Joint Committees are united in a "Central Joint Advisory Committee."

The following table gives a notion of the development of the classes :—

	1907-8.	1908-9.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.
Joint Committees	...	1	4	8	8	10*
Labour Representatives on Joint Committees .	...	7	27	58	61	73
Classes . .	2	8	39	72	102	117
Students . .	60	237	1117	1829	2485	3500 (estimated)

* Since June 1913, 12.

The organisation of these classes, with the single exception of London where the Joint Committee organises them, lies in the hands of the W.E.A., and though they actually form a new branch of University Extension, yet the general public incorrectly, but not without justification, calls them W.E.A. Classes, not only on the above-mentioned ground, but also because they actually are the spiritual property of the Association. It suggested the idea; it understands how to win men who as teachers put their best force at the service of the

¹ At the end of 1913 every University and University College in England and Wales was responsible for tutorial classes.

cause ; it inspires the working-men to the heavy sacrifices which intellectual work side by side with strenuous daily labour demands.

The undertaking was made financially possible by the fact that the local administrations in increasing number make use of the possibility of supporting the classes given them by the Education Act, 1902 (see p. 39), and also the Board of Education gives its assistance (£30 or half of the tutor's fee) for each class which fulfils certain conditions, as to the number of students and regularity of attendance.¹ The University Joint Committees not only appoint the tutor and are responsible for the educational conduct of the class, but also supply financial aid. Where these supports, the students' fees, and occasional private subscriptions do not suffice, the W.E.A. finances the classes.

The subjects of study are principally, but not exclusively, Economic History and Political Economy. Besides, an increasing wish is observed to study Literature, History, etc. A striking development is in the study of Philosophy ; in 1913 there were eight classes studying Philosophy, Ethics, and Psychology, in three of which the course came as a fifth year's work, after four years spent on History and Economics. Seventeen classes were studying Literature. By desire, classes are also arranged with the object of increasing the working-man's knowledge of his own occupation. If this was not the intention at the outset, yet it was soon seen to be necessary to widen the idea of education, and to draw more technical subjects into the realm of instruction, as far as insight into them means release from the tediousness of work.

Examinations do not take place in connection with

¹ The London County Council gave in 1910-11 £150 for the support of five classes, in 1911-12 £300 for ten classes, in 1912-13 £450 for fifteen classes, and in 1913-14 £600 for twenty classes. In a number of cases the local Education authority bears the entire cost. For details, cf. Mansbridge, *University Tutorial Classes*, pp. 49-50, 136, etc.

the courses. They are regarded as a waste of force, and unnecessary as an incentive to regular and systematic study. Oxford bestows, by request, a certificate for a three years' course without examination. The students can also be examined, in which case the result is noted on the certificate. Use is hardly made at all of this possibility. It is considered better not to incite a few specially talented students to win scholarships at Oxford, but to bring the classes as a whole to the highest level possible. Thus every disturbing rivalry is avoided, and the ideal of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, without a thought of personal advantage, which distinguishes the classes is maintained.

For the University man who is accustomed to the ordinary audience of students, perhaps the most striking thing about these classes is the sacred earnestness and the forgetfulness of self in favour of the work ; the feeling for the greatness of the world whose doors are opened to the learner, before which his own destiny is as nothing ; the capability of feeling increase of knowledge as an experience which does not allow one to sleep at night and which makes life richer.

Only thus is the great success intelligible, which is all the more astonishing if one bears in mind the inadequate elementary education and the difficult circumstances under which the work is accomplished. The Board of Education has published a report based on a visit to fourteen of these classes which is full of every kind of appreciation.¹ It culminates in the statement that on the whole the lectures and teaching are on a level with the best University standard, and that the best of the students are so far advanced at the conclusion of the course that after a further year of study

¹ " Special Report on Certain Tutorial Classes in Connection with the Workers' Educational Association ", Board of Education Special Reports, No. 2.

in Oxford they could pass the Diploma Examination in Political Economy, while in special cases even more is done.

A step forward was made in October 1911 by the opening of a W.E.A. College at Chorley. It forms a home for the classes and offers quiet rooms for study. In the first year it was attended by over 200 students. A second College is to be founded at Willesden, and it is hoped that in time similar Colleges may be established all over the country.¹

These classes are not the final goal. Their achievements are valuable in themselves, but the hope is that they may be in a greater measure a first step preparatory to University study. But apart from individual cases nothing has yet been done in this direction.

However, since 1910, during the months of July and August, Summer Classes have been organised in Oxford,² attendance at which is made possible for the most gifted students of the Tutorial Classes, where they have the opportunity of hearing the best University Professors. In addition written work is required. If the time is short, perhaps a fortnight for each student, yet this means an inspiration and a spur for years, a mental feast for many whose intellectual abilities make life

¹ Here the proposal of the Royal Commission on University Education in London may be mentioned, to put at the disposal of the Movement a College building; see Final Report, 1913, p. 188: "We think the University . . . ought to provide a well-equipped building in a convenient situation as the visible centre of the movement, where courses of lectures could be given by the best teachers, including from time to time lectures and addresses by the Professors of the University; where debates could be held, and the students meet for social intercourse. . . . This building should be used in the evenings, on Saturday afternoons, and on Sundays, as the chief University centre for tutorial class students, and a residence should be provided within its walls, if possible, for a warden, who would be responsible for the organisation of its work and social life". The Commission regards Goldsmiths' College as specially suitable for this purpose.

² In 1912, 215 students were in attendance at the Oxford school.

at mechanical labour only more difficult. And more than that—these Oxford weeks awake in an extraordinary way the feeling which characterises the members of the W.E.A.: to serve in common a great cause, to belong to a spiritual Movement, to have a mission.

At Cambridge, special Summer Classes for advanced students in Economic Theory were held in 1913. A residential school lasting for a fortnight was held in 1912 at University College, Reading.

Special courses of lectures at week-ends have been provided by the various Joint Committees at Birmingham, Durham, Halifax, Leeds, Liverpool, London, and Manchester, whilst in 1913 the northern Universities arranged a six-weeks' residential school at Bangor. In addition a fortnight's residential school for North-Eastern students was held at Durham.

In all these activities of the Association women take a lively share. The women of the working-class show a quickly increasing interest in intellectual questions, to which the expressed wish of the intellectual working-man to find an understanding companion in his wife certainly contributes. In 1911-12 the W.E.A. organised thirty-six classes or courses specially for women, and 380 women (*i.e.* about 13 per cent. of the total of students) took part in the Tutorial Classes. More and more women's Associations are being affiliated to the Local Branches of the Association. An Advisory Committee looks after the interests of the women in the W.E.A.

The Association does not confine its activity to industrial workers. It wishes also to reach the agricultural labourer. From his intellectual immobility he is very difficult to move, but the task is bravely undertaken, and there is a prospect of founding a College for agricultural labourers after the Danish model.

The moment has not yet come for saying the last

word on the W.E.A. It is rather a promise than a fulfilment. Only the smallest part of its plans is translated into practice, and each year brings new unexpected developments.¹ Therefore the attempt to understand it in its peculiarity and to measure its significance must place less importance in tables and statistics than in the powers which stand behind what has hitherto been achieved. But these spiritual factors inspire confidence. They promise a great future. In consideration of this the fact of the bad financing of the Association has hardly any weight. The strong spirit will build its body. The W.E.A. has understood in a rare way how to attract personalities. It will also be able to overcome material difficulties. But, whatever the future may bring, to-day there is no stronger force in England at work in building up a democratic system of education.²

¹ In 1913, Mr. Mansbridge visited Australia, with the result that an Australian Workers' Educational Association is being organised now. At the beginning of 1914 the W.E.A. was established in every Australian State, and in a number of cities. Tutorial classes were at work in Sydney and Brisbane, and in course of formation in other towns. New South Wales had voted £1000 as the first annual grant. Tasmania was expected to grant £5000. Victoria was considering an application for an annual grant of £2000 towards general extension work, of which £1250 are to be for Tutorial Classes. The Premiers and officials of the remaining States were either considering definite applications or awaiting them.

² As to the relations of the W.E.A. to the Settlement Movement, see p. 117.

CONCLUSION

CONSERVATIVE England is being rapidly changed : it is daring the experiment of a radical democratisation.

Political and administrative power is being placed more and more into the hands of a class of the nation which was thought of only a few decades ago almost merely as a factor in economic life. And thereby universal attention is being directed to its moral and intellectual standard, in which formerly only a band of philanthropists were interested. No longer only on humanitarian grounds, but because it appears as a national duty, indeed even in the interest of their own class, do the wealthy trouble themselves about the welfare of the working-class. The number of private and public undertakings which have for their object its education, in the broadest sense of the word, is almost incalculable. So far as it is positively concerned with the imparting of higher knowledge, the task is comparatively easy of solution by means of legislation—the improvement of schools, the fixing of a higher school age, the introduction of compulsory Continuation Schools are obvious means which here offer themselves to the legislator. The problem of the adoption of the working-class into the community of culture on which the unity and hence the health of the national life depends offers infinitely greater difficulties. One may despair of our world of culture and our social system, which are indissolubly bound together, and see the only salvation in its destruction and the creation of a completely new one. But

any one who believes in the necessity of building further on the basis of the present state of things must see in the unity of the nation the prime condition of its continued existence. It is unthinkable that the two halves of the nation, intellectually awake but inwardly divided, should continue to exist side by side. The two hostile spirits must in the end burst the organism which holds them together.

The working-class, which is not rooted in the past of the nation, and receives the intellectual food offered it in a form which it cannot digest, is growing up into mental maturity, and thus the danger of a definite division of culture is becoming acute. Culture cannot be imparted by books and lectures alone; it must be passed on from man to man. Thus the endeavour to bridge over the abyss between the classes born of humanitarian ideals receives a new importance, all the more as only a disinterested humanity, coming from the heart, can discharge this task. Here the legislator and official fail, and the destiny of the nation lies in the hands of the philanthropists. To have done effective work in this direction is indeed the greatest historical importance of the Settlements as a working out of Social idealism. Half a century ago the seed was sown which to-day is bearing fruit.

The "Workers' Educational Association", born of the same spirit, is on the way to open the doors of the spiritual world to the intellectual upper stratum of the working-class, whose destiny is of decisive importance. The treasure which it receives will penetrate of itself into the depths. It gives the direction to future development.

Before this great question the fate of the Settlement Movement loses its significance. Its spirit may seek new forms if the old become too narrow for it. And however problematic the future development of the

Movement as such may be, no doubt exists that its spirit is growing stronger and attracting wider circles.

It appears as if in future more professional social workers, alone or with their families, will seek a dwelling on the field of their work, and thus enter quite naturally into personal touch with the poorer classes. True humanity always finds a way of working itself out, and it knows that the errors to which we are all subject can do less harm to it than to any other human effort, and that in the end success is sure.

CHRONOLOGY ¹

- 1796^{5 Dec 4} Carlyle born.
- 1800 . . . William Lovett born.—Owen takes over New Lanark and tries to transform it into an ideal Labour Colony.
- 1819 . . . Ruskin born.
- 1830 . . . Lovett makes Owen's acquaintance; beginning of his activity as a reformer.
- 1832 . . . Electoral reform.
- 1833-1834. First appearance of *Sartor Resartus* (in *Fraser's Magazine*).
- 1836 . . . Lovett founds "The London Working-Men's Association".
- 1839 . . . Occupation of Birmingham by revolutionary working-men.
- 1848 . . . Beginning of the Christian Social Movement.
- „ April 10 Threat of the Chartists to march on the House of Commons with 300,000 men.
- 1854 . . . Founding of the Working-Men's College by the Christian Socialists.
- 1860 . . . John Richard Green goes as clergyman to a poor parish in East London.
- 1867 . . . Derby-Disraeli Reform Bill (Extension of the Franchise).—Prof. James Stuart gives lectures outside the University.—Edward Denison goes to live in East London.
- 1870 . . . Elementary Education Act.—Ruskin appointed Slade Professor at Oxford.
- 1871 . . . University Test Act.

¹ Notice the parallelism between the development of democracy and the efforts of the Social Idealists.

- 1872 . . Rev. Samuel A. Barnett becomes Vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel.
- 1873 . . The first organised University Extension lectures are held in connection with Cambridge.
- 1875 . . Foundation of the " London Society for the Extension of University Teaching ".
- 1879 . . Toynbee takes up his abode for a short time in Whitechapel.
- 1881 . . Death of Carlyle.
- 1882 . . Death of Thomas Hill Green.
- 1883, *March 9* Death of Arnold Toynbee. .
- 1884 . . Foundation of Toynbee Hall.
- 1884-1885. Gladstone Reform Bill.
- 1885 . . Oxford joins the University Extension Movement.
- 1898 . . Beginning of the propaganda for Old Age Pensions.
- 1899 . . Foundation of the " National Committee of Organised Labour ".
- 1900 . . Death of Ruskin.
- 1902 . . Education Act makes possible the support of higher education for adults by Local Administrations.
- 1903 . . Founding of the " Workers' Educational Association ".
- 1908 . . Old Age Pensions Bill. Organisation of the first Tutorial Classes in connection with Oxford.
- 1913, *June 17* Death of Samuel A. Barnett.

APPENDIX

LIST OF THE SETTLEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN ¹

ENGLAND

BATH

(1) CITIZEN HOUSE

Chandos Buildings

FOUNDED in 1913.

Character.—"The object of the House is to promote the welfare of the neighbourhood, and to serve as a centre for education and for recreation." The Settlement is undenominational and non-party.

¹ In the following the attempt is made to give as complete a list as possible of the Settlements in Great Britain, with a short sketch of each. The *Bibliography of College, Social, University and Church Settlements*, published by the College Settlements Association in Chicago (fifth and last edition, 1905), formed the only comprehensive preparatory work. It is wholly unreliable, as well in regard to completeness as to actual information, and, moreover, is out of date. Its revision and completion presented great difficulties, and no guarantee can be given for the absence of omissions in this List. Yet I believe that none of the more important Settlements existing to-day are omitted. An attempt to make a definite distinction between Settlements and Missions has proved to be impracticable (see Introduction): the two types overlap, and the character of individual institutions often changes completely with the personality at its head. Therefore certain Missions are here

Branches of Work.—Citizen House has as a nucleus for its work, the Aid Co-ordination Committee, the Eliza Walker Girls' Club, and the Workers' Educational Association. Under the auspices of these committees definite social and educational work is undertaken. The Aid Co-ordination Committee seeks to improve the condition of the poor, investigates cases of distress, and obtains adequate relief whenever possible. The Committee also keeps a register of all charity given in the city, and holds conferences on subjects of social interest. The Eliza Walker Girls' Club Committee provides a club, which is open every evening in the week for all working girls. 80-100 members come every evening for classes and for recreation. Systematic training of Social Science students is given.

Number of Residents.—25 (men and women).

Number of Non-Resident Workers.—About 50.

Terms.—£1 1s. a week, or 3s. 6d. a day.

Special Remarks.—"We have purposely avoided the name Settlement, as we felt that the word was now conveying a somewhat stereotyped idea, and that too many Settlements act only as training-grounds, which, however excellent, have changed in constitution from the original idea of a permanent household sharing their life with the poor" (From a letter of the Warden).

mentioned; the condition being that laymen should also live in them permanently, and that the social work should not retire too much into the background. The "Institutional Church" is not included, being a definite Church institution.

The numerical statements as to residents, non-resident workers, and the extent of the work accomplished, are mostly the result of enquiries which were made in the summer and autumn of 1911. They refer, on account of the time of publishing yearly reports, partly to the year 1910, partly to 1911. The changes from year to year are insignificant, but some which have recently occurred are taken into account. The lists of branches of work make no claim to completeness, only the important ones are mentioned. If a Settlement is alluded to in the text, the numbers of the corresponding pages are given in a note.

It may be mentioned that a summary of the American Settlements is given in the *Handbook of Settlements*, edited by Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy (New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1911). It gives a list of 413 "Settlements" (compared to 74 in 1897, 103 in 1900, 204 in 1905). This high number is reached by including social institutions without residents, although they do not even call themselves Settlements.

BIRMINGHAM

(2) BIRMINGHAM WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT,¹

318 Summer Lane, Birmingham

Founded in 1899 by Birmingham members of the "National Union of Women Workers".

Character.—The aim of the Settlement is—(1) "To provide a centre for Resident and Non-resident Workers for systematic study with reference to social work and industrial conditions; (2) to promote the physical, intellectual, and moral welfare, particularly of the women and children of the neighbourhood". The Settlement has no religious tendency.

Branches of Work.—Mothers' Meetings; Clubs for Girls, for Women Street-sellers, for Crippled Children; Children's Play Hours; Kindergarten; Labour Exchange for the Young; Savings Bank; Poor Man's Lawyer; Support of a great number of social undertakings, such as the Charity Organisation Society, the Children's Country Holidays Fund, etc. In addition—as a chief object of the Settlement—the training of social workers. In connection with the University, theoretical and practical courses are held, followed by examinations. In 1910, 3 Residents of the Settlement received the Diploma.

Number of Residents.—9 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 40.

Terms.—Resident workers, £1 a week, with a minimum of £40 a year; workers not giving full time to Settlement work, 25s. per week; visitors, 5s. a day.—University fee, £7, 7s. for the session; single courses of ten lectures, 10s. 6d. a term.—Special arrangements made for students wishing to train for social work.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—Most of the Residents stay for at least one year, which is partly due to the training courses, a few considerably longer. During the last few years the Settlement has always been quite full.

BRISTOL

(3) THE BROAD PLAIN HOUSE,¹*The Settlement House, Broad Plain, Bristol*

Founded in 1890.

Character.—Social work on religious principles. The Settlement is supported by members of the "Highbury Congregational Church".

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Girls, Boys, and Men; Boys' Brigade; Play Hours and Classes for Little Children; Mothers' Meetings; Temperance Society for Women (about 400 members); Savings Bank; Sunday Schools for Children and Men (about 1200 members); in addition the Settlement employs a Nurse.

Number of Residents.—3 (the Warden, his Wife, and the Nurse). There is no room for more.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 150 (Men and Women), most of whom have been connected with the Settlement over ten years.

(4) THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT,²*Barton Hill, Bristol*

Founded in 1911 by members of the University.

Character.—The aims of the Settlement are—(1) "To promote the general welfare of the neighbourhood in which it is situated; (2) to provide a centre for the systematic study of social and industrial conditions".—It is not officially connected with any religious organisation, and it is not the general intention to hold classes and meetings in the Settlement on Sundays.

Branches of Work.—Relief Work; Clubs for Children and Working-Boys and Girls; Play Hours for Children; Mothers' Club and Babies' Consultation; Children's Library; Folk Dances; School Visiting; Medical

¹ P. 113.² Pp. 117, 125.

Inspection Visiting ; Country Holiday Visiting for the Children's Country Holiday Fund.—The Settlement is the headquarters of the Bristol Branch of the Workers' Educational Association.—Great importance is attached to the training of social workers, for whom special courses are held at the University.

Number of Residents.—6 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 100.

CHESTERFIELD

(5) WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT,

Church Lane, Chesterfield

Founded in 1902 by Miss Violet Markham.

Character.—The aim of the Settlement is—(1) "To provide a centre for Resident and Non-resident Workers, for systematic study with reference to social work and industrial conditions ; (2) to provide healthy recreation for working-girls and children, and generally to co-operate in all efforts which promote the moral, physical, and intellectual well-being of the people of the neighbourhood". The Settlement has no religious tendency.

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Girls ; Classes for Boys ; Mothers' Meetings ; Classes for Cripples ; Play Hours for Little Children.

Number of Residents.—2 women, occasionally a third ; there is no room for more.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—32.

IPSWICH

(6) IPSWICH SOCIAL SETTLEMENT,

133 and 135 Fore Street, Ipswich, Suffolk

Founded in 1896 as a Temperance Club, in 1904 as a Settlement.

Character.—Religious and Social Work.

Branches of Work.—Bible Classes ; Evening Service with Lantern Pictures for Men ; Concerts ; Lectures ; Discussion Evenings ; Clubs ; Ambulance Classes ; Poor Man's Lawyer ; Public Library ; Savings Bank ; Nursing Sister.

Number of Residents.—8 men.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 45.

LEEDS

(7) THE RED HOUSE SETTLEMENT,¹

East Street, Leeds

Founded in 1912 by members of the Church of England.

Character.—Religious tendency (the Vicar of Leeds is Warden).

Branches of Work.—(1) Small Evening Study Circles, in connection with the Workers' Educational Association, for men and women. (2) Monthly Gatherings of Church Workers. (3) Links with other organisations in Leeds, such as the Charity Organisation Society, the Workers' Educational Association, the Invalid Children's Aid Association, the Leeds Ladies' Vigilance Society, and the Juvenile Advisory Committee of the Labour Exchange. (4) A Restaurant, intended for the neighbouring mill hands, with open-air shelter for out-of-door meetings. (5) Morning Classes, bi-weekly for Invalid and Crippled Children of the district, connected with the Invalid Children's Aid Association. Training of social workers in connection with the University.

Number of Residents.—7 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—12.

Terms.—£1 a week for a minimum of 40 weeks in the year, £1, 5s. a week for 3 months. £1, 8s. a week for shorter periods. University fees: Social Science and Diploma Course (Optional), £7, 7s. a year.

¹ P. 125.

LIVERPOOL

(8) LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT,¹*Nile Street, Liverpool, S.*

Founded in 1907 by members of the University.

Character.—The object of the Settlement is "To create for the population of the poorer districts in South Liverpool opportunities for education and recreation, to investigate the conditions of life of the poor, and to design and carry out plans for the furtherance of their welfare". The Settlement has no religious tendency.

Branches of Work.—Savings Bank; Clubs; Work of various kinds among School Children; Poor Man's Lawyer.

Number of Residents.—12.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—40.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—Great stress is laid on the training of social workers, not in systematic courses, but under the individual guidance of the Warden, who regards himself as the tutor of every Resident.

(9) VICTORIA WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT,²*294 Netherfield Road, North Liverpool*

Founded in 1897 under the auspices of the "Liverpool Union of Women Workers".

Character.—The Settlement offers accommodation to those who wish to live in a poor district and to take part in the local life, with its difficulties, as good citizens and neighbours; (2) it tries to participate, organising or helping, in undertakings of every kind, which serve the welfare of the district; (3) it aims at being a reservoir of knowledge and a laboratory for experiments in the field of social reform; (4) it aims at being a centre for the training of social workers. The Settlement has no religious tendency.

¹ Pp. 117, 123, 125, 134.

² Pp. 117, 118, 119, 125.

Branches of Work.—Bureau for advice and help in all cases of distress (over 900 cases a year); Clubs for Girls and Boys; Holiday Schools; Flower Shows and other encouragement of flower-raising and horticulture; Holiday Homes in the country; Exhibition of Home Work; Poor Man's Lawyer; Systematic Training of Social Women Workers in connection with the School of Social Science.

Number of Residents.—8 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 40.

Terms.—Residents, 25s. per week (for periods of 36 weeks and upwards), 28s. per week (for shorter periods), 4s. a day. Students, £65 per annum, to include board, lodging, training and University fees. Visitors, 30s. a week, 5s. a day.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—Increasing stress is laid on the training of social workers. In 1910, 4 Residents of the Settlement and 3 other ladies took part in the whole course of training, but other Residents of the Settlement also attended the School of Social Science.

LONDON

(10) BERMONDSEY SETTLEMENT,¹

Farncombe Street, Jamaica Road, London, S.E.

(WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT: 149 *Lower Road, Rotherhithe*)

Founded in 1891 under the auspices of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference by the Rev. Dr. Moulton, Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, and Mr. Percy Bunting, editor of the *Contemporary Review*.

Character.—The Settlement stands in close connection with the Wesleyan Church; its present Warden, Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, is a Wesleyan minister, and Head of the Wesleyan Mission for South London. But membership of this Church is not a condition of membership of the Settlement, which was founded in addition to the Mission, because the connection with a single denomina-

¹ Pp. 110, 117, 118.

tion acted as a drag on the success of the social work. However, the character of the Settlement is a distinctly Christian one.

Branches of Work.—Mission work in connection with the South London Mission; Sunday Evening Services, Bible Classes, Temperance Lodges; University Extension Lectures; Concerts; Ambulance Classes; Athletic and Walking Clubs; Picture and Flower Shows; Clubs for Boys and Girls, for Men and Women; Boys' Brigade; Instruction of Mothers in Nursing; Play Hours for Little Girls and Boys; Work in Schools for Crippled Children.

Number of Residents.—14 men, 21 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 50.

(II) CAMBRIDGE HOUSE,¹

131 Camberwell Road, London, S.E.

Founded in 1896 by Bishop Westcott, Bishop Talbot, Bishop Selwyn, and members of the University of Cambridge.

Character.—The aim of the Settlement is "To provide, promote, assist, or encourage religious, social, educational, and benevolent work, and means of recreation for the people of the Southern parts of London or elsewhere". The Settlement derives its special character from the fact that it represents the centre of the social and mission work undertaken by Cambridge in South London. Its Residents are laymen, mostly young students of theology; the Warden is always a clergyman of the Church of England.

Branches of Work.—Play Hours and Dancing for Little Girls; Athletics for Boys; Popular Concerts; Public Library; Poor Man's Lawyer; Clubs for Men and Boys. Besides this, the Residents help in the work of the Missions.

Number of Residents.—12 men (most remain several years in the Settlement).

¹ Pp. 7, 113, 117

Number of Non-resident Workers.—45.

Terms.—For Residents, 30s. a week inclusive. For Visitors, 6s. 6d. a day, 32s. 6d. a week. Undergraduates, 5s. a day. Visitors staying not less than a fortnight count as Residents.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—The following summary of the work of Cambridge in South London gives an idea of the position and importance of Cambridge House :—

College-Mission.	Popula- tion of the Mission District.	Number of Communicants.	Social Workers.		Attendance at Mission Schools.		Number of Club Members.
			Clergy.	Laymen.	Week- days.	Sundays.	
St John's Mission	6,000	270	3	1	...	549	95
Clare "	6,000	253	2	2	...	372	84
Trinity "	16,500	905	5	4	628	2,046	283
Pembroke "	5,000	115	1	3	...	557	107
Corpus "	9,500	350	2	2	1,200	980	...
Caius "	5,000	160	2	2	...	450	245
Total .	48,000	2053	...	...	1,828	4,954	814
Cambridge House			1	56			
Total .			16	70			

(12) CANNING TOWN WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT,¹

Cumberland Road, Plaistow, London, E.

(OFFICES AND CLUBS : 81 Barking Road, E.)

Founded in 1892.

Character.—Social work on religious basis.

Branches of Work.—Training of social workers in connection with the School of Economics, whose East

¹ Pp. 119, 125.

End centre the Settlement is ; Evening Classes for Women and Girls. Lectures for Working-Women ; Sunday Afternoon Lectures ; Evening Services for Children ; Bible Classes for Women and Girls ; Temperance Societies ; Savings Bank ; Vacation School ; Society for the Support of young Domestic Servants ; Registry Office for Women ; Girls' Club ; Work among Crippled Children ; Children's Health Bureau ; Hospital.

Number of Residents.—15 women (mostly for a number of years).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—32.

(13) CATHOLIC SETTLEMENT, BERMONDSEY ¹

ADDRESS : *Rev. B. S. Rawlinson, 8 Grange Road, Bermondsey, London, S.E.*

Founded in 1910.

Character.—Social work on a religious basis (Roman Catholic).

The aims of the Settlement are :—

1. To bring together all those willing to take part in social work.
- 2 To assist as far as possible all social efforts in the Catholic Body by facilitating co-operation between them.
3. To collect and register information relating to all forms of charitable and social work.
4. To get into touch with employers of labour for the benefit of the Catholic Working-Classes.
5. To co-operate with Emigration Agencies.
6. To foster Temperance, Thrift, and Hygiene amongst the Poor, and to encourage them to help themselves.

Branches of Work.—Club for boys under 14 ; Downside Club for boys from 14 to 18 ; Fisher Club for Senior Boys ; Girls' Club ; Club for Mothers ; Carving Class for Boys. Systematic efforts are being made to deal with the question of employment for boys leaving school, and to watch over their future progress.

Number of Residents.—6 men.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—25 (10 men, 15 women).

(14) GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, MISSION AND SETTLEMENT,¹

Battersea, London

Founded in 1887 by Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Character.—Religious aims stand in the foreground, but purely Settlement work is also carried on.

Branches of Work.—The mission district actually forms a sort of parish over which the head of the Mission presides with all the duties of a clergyman. In addition there are Clubs for girls, boys, and men, as well as a Scout Troop ; Dances and Social Meetings are arranged.

Number of Residents.—4 men (on an average for a year and a half).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—15.

Terms.—Board and lodging 18s. to 21s. a week. Two scholarships are awarded annually to such as, being otherwise eligible, are unable to afford the expense. These scholarships cover the whole cost of living at the Settlement for one year, but offer no remuneration.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—The Mission belongs to the institutions grouped round Cambridge House. It is specially quoted because laymen continually stay there, and true Settlement work is more to the fore than in most Missions. The annual report of 1911 gives the reasons for this and thereby confirms my statements in the introduction as to the position of a Missioner : " Our people live hard lives and are not well educated. There is a gipsy colony in Urswicke Road, of whom very few can read and write. The result is that nearly all our work has to be missionary rather than pastoral, and much of it of a preliminary, social, and educational character. Hence the Clubs, Boy Scouts, and Guilds of Play ".

¹ Pp. 108, 113.

(15) LADY MARGARET HALL SETTLEMENT,¹

129, 131, 133, 135 *Kennington Road, Lambeth, London, S.E.*

Founded in 1897 by members of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Character.—The spirit of the Settlement is a religious one, but chiefly social work is done.

Branches of Work.—(1) Parochial work under the Clergy; Parochial Relief Committees; District Visiting; Sunday-school Teaching; Girls' Clubs and Classes; Boys' Clubs and Classes. (2) Non-parochial, in connection with the Social Committees of the Charity Organisation Society; Home Management, formerly under Miss Octavia Hill; The Invalid Children's Aid Association; Children's Care Committees and School Feeding; The Children's Country Holiday Fund; The Workers' Educational Association, etc. (3) Provident Collecting. (4) Workhouse and Infirmary Visiting. (5) Health Visiting. (6) Personal Service (Association of Helpers), and other work.

Number of Residents.—14 women (mostly for a number of years), in addition to which there are a number of visitors for a short time.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 30.

Terms.—Residents, £1; visitors, 30s. a week inclusive.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—All permanent Residents must have definite training in social work, either before or at the beginning of their residence. It is desired that students who apply for training, with a view eventually to seeking a remunerative post, should, wherever possible, give one year's work to the Settlement after receiving a year's training. Some training is also desired for Non-resident Workers. The Settlement is affiliated to the School of Economics. 1910-11, 6 members of the Settlement took part in the course held there.

¹ Pp. 117, 124.

- (16) MANSFIELD HOUSE, UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT,¹
89, 91, 93 *Barking Road, Canning Town, London, E.*

Founded in 1890 by Mansfield College, Oxford.

Character.—Mansfield House was founded “for practical helpfulness in the spirit of Jesus Christ, in all that affects human life. We war, in the Master’s name, against all evil, selfishness, injustice, vice, disease, starvation, ignorance, ugliness, and squalor, and seek to build up God’s kingdom in brotherhood, righteousness, purity, health, truth, and beauty”.

Branches of Work.—Sunday Schools for Men; Hours of Devotion; Clubs for Men and Boys; Shelter for the Homeless; Poor Man’s Lawyer; Play Hours for Children; Study of Choral and Instrumental Music; Dramatic Performances; Lectures; Social Gatherings; Sport; Savings Bank.—Active participation in the local administration.

Number of Residents.—10 to 13 men.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—22.

(17) MAURICE HOSTEL²

(The Christian Social Union Settlement)

SETTLEMENT FOR MEN : 64-66 *Britannia Street* ; FOR
WOMEN, 51 *Herbert Street, Hoxton, London, N.*

Founded in 1899.

Character.—“Maurice Hostel exists for the purpose of promoting and assisting the spiritual and social welfare of Hoxton by establishing and maintaining special branches of work for that purpose, and co-operating with and assisting kindred institutions in the district” (Annual Report).—The Settlement does chiefly social work, but on a religious basis, without making the benefit of the Settlement Institutions dependent on membership

¹ Pp. 71, 108, 113.

² Pp. 108, 113.

of a religious community, or participation in religious observances.

Branches of Work.—(a) Women's Settlement; Crèche; Kindergarten; Clubs for Girls; Holiday Home for Women and Girls; Dinners for Children and Factory Girls; Labour Exchange for Girls; Sale of Second-hand Clothes. (b) Men's Settlement; Clubs for Men and Boys; Holiday Home for Men and Boys; Sleeping-places for Boys and Young Men; Poor Man's Lawyer; Sunday Services. In addition to this the Residents of the Settlement take part in numerous local institutions.

Number of Residents.—7 men, 11 women. For years the same persons.

Number of Helpers.—10 men, 14 women.

(18) OXFORD HOUSE,¹

Bethnal Green, London, E.

Founded in 1884 as a Settlement of the Church of England in East London by members of the University of Oxford.

Character.—"The Oxford House in Bethnal Green is established in order that Oxford men may take part in the Social and Religious work of the Church in East London; that they may learn something of the life of the poor; may try to better the conditions of the working-classes as regards health and recreation, mental culture and spiritual teaching; and may offer an example, so far as in them lies, of a simple and religious life".

Branches of Work.—Sunday Schools; Bible Classes; Services; Clubs for Men and Boys; Poor Man's Lawyer; Public Bath; Sports; Cadet Corps; Lectures; Share in Local Administration and Social Institutions, such as the Charity Organisation Society, the Children's Country Holiday Fund, etc.

Number of Residents.—18 men (as a rule for one year).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 20.

Terms.—30s. to 33s. a week.

¹ See pp. 103, 106, 108, 113, 135.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—Oxford House was founded almost at the same time as Toynbee Hall, and in friendly contrast to its undenominational principles. It is used by many who are going to take Holy Orders as a good place in which to pass a year after leaving Oxford, before going on to one of the Theological Colleges. That is the reason why one year is the average time for which men stay. There have been men who have stayed for many years, but these are either exceptional cases, or else permanent officials of the House. In spite of the distinctly Anglican character of Oxford House, membership of its clubs and participation in its social entertainments is not made dependent on membership of a religious community or participation in religious observances.

The Head, Rev. J. A. Iremonger, wrote to me (October 1911) that it becomes increasingly difficult each year to get Residents and money. The reasons which he gives may here be mentioned, as they indicate tendencies which are important for the whole Settlement Movement. He writes :—

“(a) The Settlement fever at Oxford (which is the only recruiting-ground of which I have had any experience) has passed. This is not in the least due, in my experience (and I cannot state this too strongly) to the fact that men are less alive to their responsibilities. The reason is partly that the zeal of the kind which inspired the Settlement Movement between twenty and thirty years ago is now being poured into the Mission Field. Canada interests men at Oxford more than Bethnal Green, and the Student Volunteer Movement, an organisation modern but little known, has attracted a number at any rate of those who some years ago would not have been interested in Foreign Missions, and who would then have placed their services at the disposal of the Settlements.

“(b) This is not a very satisfactory reason to state, but it is certainly true of the class who subscribe voluntarily to our organisation. It is simply the belief (I mention it without discussing it) that you cannot spend the same shilling twice. Many subscribers state that they have found it necessary to cut down their subscriptions owing to taxes, super-taxes, and death duties.

“(c) Oxford is at present a hunting-ground for any one who has a cause to plead, and a request to make for men and money; whether it be philanthropic, or more definitely religious, or missionary. The result is that the tendency on the part of undergraduates is to treat them all with equal indifference. An undergraduate who desires to do so could certainly attend five meetings a week in Oxford, each term.

“(d) I feel that it is largely a question of machinery and organisation. If it could be found possible to make the plea of the Oxford House of more importance than the others, and to keep in touch by means of the Head spending more time in Oxford, I am sure that we could keep the Oxford House full.

“(e) I think that the ordinary young Englishman, who is dependent on his parents for his education, is less inclined to ask that that education should be prolonged beyond the time at which his University career ends”.

Information as to the Women's Settlement in connection with Oxford House is found under “St. Margaret's House”.

(19) OXFORD AND BERMONDSEY MISSION,¹

Riley Street, Bermondsey, London, S.E.

Founded in 1897 by Dr. Stansfield as “Oxford Medical Mission”. When he left Bermondsey in 1910, the medical work fell away, and consequently the Settlement changed its name.

Character.—Distinctly religious, yet from the beginning an interest was taken in the physical welfare of the poor.

Branches of Work.—In the first instance, Clubs for men and boys as well as Mission Work (Visiting, Services). Educational efforts (Classes, Lectures) have had up till now no great success because of the very low standard of the population of Bermondsey.

Number of Residents.—6 men (mostly for one year).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—10.

¹ Pp. 7, 108, 110, 113, 131.

Terms.—£1 per week.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—About 60 per cent. of the Residents are young divinity students, who are preparing by the social work for their later pastoral duties. This explains the regular stay of one year.

It is of interest that work among the boys and men of Bermondsey shows more and more that it is imperative to occupy oneself also with women and girls. It has come about that the young boys and men connected with the Mission, who have become "good", avoid all intercourse with the girls and women of the district, *i.e.* with the female sex altogether. Therefore plans are being made with the help of ladies to open Clubs for girls. Dancing evenings are arranged in the Men's Clubs, etc.

But as far as the men do marry, as a rule they treat their wives, on whom they look down, very badly. A former member of the Mission, therefore, took a house with his wife in the district in order to put before the people the picture of an ideal family life.

The Settlement will soon be given up, as the residents believe that it will be better for their work if they live by themselves in the neighbourhood.

(20) PASSMORE EDWARDS SETTLEMENT,¹

Tavistock Place, London, W.C.

Founded in 1896 at the instigation of Mrs. Humphry Ward.

Character.—The Settlement has no religious aims. Its former Warden, Mr. George E. Gladstone, sketches its objects as follows: "We believe that many alterations in the conditions of Life and Labour are necessary, and that they will come; but we also believe that men, without any alteration except in themselves and in their feelings towards each other, could make this world better and happier. Therefore we come together, with the same sympathies but with different experiences, to interchange our thoughts and to discuss social questions, hoping

¹ Pp. 117, 118, 119, 120.

that by learning to know each other better a feeling of community may arise among us".

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Women, Girls, Boys, and Men; Cadet Corps; Recreation School for Children; Summer-Vacation School; Athletics and Sport; University Extension Lectures; Discussion Evenings; Evening Classes; Scientific Societies; Public Library; Dramatic Performances; Choral and Instrumental Music; Poor Man's Lawyer; Savings Bank; Dancing Entertainments and other Social Gatherings.

Number of Residents.—10 men.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—40.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—The name of the Settlement is explained by the fact that Mr. Passmore Edwards made the erection of the Settlement buildings possible. In spite of its being a Settlement for men, many women help in its work, hence a specially varied field of activity is open to it.†

(21) THE WOMEN'S PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENT,

Esk House, 56 East India Dock Road, Poplar, London, E.

Founded in 1899 under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church.

Character.—The Settlement was founded to help the Presbyterian Churches in the neighbourhood of Bow, Millwall, Stepney, Victoria Docks, and Poplar, and had till 1909 purely sectarian aims. Then it was taken over by a Committee of ladies, and since then Settlement work has been done. It is supported only by the Presbyterian Church. The Residents are not all Presbyterians, but are only admitted under the condition that they are ready to help with the work of the Church.

Branches of Work.—Support of Presbyterian Churches; Mothers' Meetings; Clubs for Girls; Sunday School; Visits in the neighbourhood; Support of other Social Institutions, such as the Charity Organisation Society, the Ragged School Mission, the Invalid Children's Aid

Association ; Training of Social Workers in connection with the School of Economics.

Number of Residents.—5 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—9.

Terms.—Residents, 15s. per week (for period of over three months), £1 per week for shorter periods ; visitors, £1, 5s. per week.

(22) THE RATCLIFF SETTLEMENT,¹

London Street, Commercial Road, London, E.

Founded in 1884 by Robert Keith Arbuthnot, Trinity College, Dublin, with the support of the East London Church Fund.

Character.—The Settlement was founded as a Mission House for ladies, who wish to work under the guidance of the Anglican Clergy. But even at that time adherents of other creeds were not excluded from participation in its Institutions. In 1907 the Settlement made itself independent in order not to be affected by the existing prejudice against the Church. The spirit of the Settlement is still religious, but the Mission character is entirely given up.

Branches of Work.—Sunday Schools and Bible Classes ; Sewing Lessons for Children from 11 to 14, and for Mothers ; Club for Girls ; Support of Emigrants.

Number of Residents.—6 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—10.

Terms.—Board and lodging, 30s. per week.

(23) ROBERT BROWNING SETTLEMENT,²

York Street, Walworth Road, London, S.E.

Founded in 1895 by a Committee which was nominated by the last members of the Congregational Church who belonged to Locksfield Chapel. In this Chapel, which

¹ Pp. 110, 113.

² Pp. 6, 110, 111, 112, 113, 119, 120, 122, 123, 128, 184.

to-day belongs to the Settlement under the name of "Browning Hall", Robert Browning was baptized on June 14, 1812.

Character.—The Settlement is defined as "a company of men and women resident in Walworth and elsewhere who have entered into an Association for the furtherance of the Kingdom of God as it is declared in the Gospel of Jesus Christ ; the amelioration of the life and lot of the people dwelling in the borough of Southwark and in other poor parts of London and elsewhere . . . to promote the full and happy development of body, mind, and soul". The atmosphere of the Settlement is a religious one, but adherence to any particular Church is avoided, since the working-class is said to have no sympathy for denominational distinctions. By putting aside all secondary differences of standpoint, all the power is concentrated on the reconciliation of Church and Labour.

Branches of Work.—Men's Brotherhood ; Women's Meetings ; Adult School ; Public Worship ; Fellowship of Followers ; Poor Man's Lawyer ; University Extension and other Lectures ; Cripples' Parlour ; Boys' Clubs ; Girls' Clubs ; Holiday School ; Play Centre ; Country Holidays ; Sunday School ; Travel Club ; Goose Club ; Slate Club, and other Thrift Clubs ; Garden Friends ; Boy and Girl Scouts ; Labour Week 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913.

The Browning Hall Conference on Housing and Locomotion led to the appointment of the Royal Commission on London Traffic and of the Traffic Branch of the Board of Trade. In response to an appeal from the Settlement, Queen Alexandra in 1905 opened the Queen's Fund for the Unemployed, the first provision on a national scale of work for the workless. Browning Hall is also the headquarters of the National Pensions Committee.

Number of Residents.—7 men, 1 woman.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 100.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—In Browning Hall an attempt is made as far as possible to induce families to settle in the district, so that only the unmarried live in the Settlement itself. The Warden, Mr. Stead, and his wife do not live in the Settlement. Many working-men of the

district stand in close connection with the Settlement and take an active part in its work.

(24) RUGBY HOUSE ¹

(RUGBY SCHOOL HOME MISSION),

292 Lancaster Road, Notting Hill, London, W.

Founded in 1885 by members of Rugby School.

Character.—Distinctly religious ; the typical example of the impossibility of a definite distinction between Mission and Settlement. Settlement work is done, and it has proved impracticable to exclude from the Clubs, etc., those who do not belong to the Church of England. Thus all are admitted and no attempts at proselytising are made.

Branches of Work.—Services ; Clubs for Children, Girls, Boys, and Men ; Athletics and Sports ; Lectures ; Concerts ; Library ; Dramatic Performances.

Number of Residents.—5 men (as a rule for two to three years).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—25.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—The Residents are, with the exception of the Warden, as a rule not clergy, but have their profession in London and give their free time to social work.

Notting Hill, in the immediate neighbourhood of well-to-do districts, is in some parts one of the worst poor and criminal quarters of London.

(25) ST. ANTHONY'S SETTLEMENT,

21 Great Prescott Street, London, E.

Founded in 1894 by the Dowager Duchess of Newcastle.

Character.—Type of the Roman Catholic Women's Settlement, which is unreservedly under the control of the clergy.

¹ Pp. 6, 66, 108, 113.

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Girls; Mothers' Meetings; District Visiting.

Number of Residents.—6 women.

Terms.—25s. per week.

(26) ST. CECILIA'S HOUSE SETTLEMENT,
531 Commercial Road, London, E.

Founded in 1899 by the "Association of the Ladies of Charity."

Character.—It falls under the same category as the preceding.

Branches of Work.—The following statement, which covers the period from September 1910 to September 1911, gives an idea of the work of this Settlement, and thereby of the Roman Catholic Women's Settlements generally:—

Visits paid to the Poor in their homes	2094
Christmas dinners given to destitute Children	250
Women, Girls, and Children sent to the country and Convalescent Homes	215
Excursions during the summer for the day	93
Number attending Retreats at Stamford Hill	184
Girls attending Senior Club	35
" " Junior Club	75
" " Drill Class	30
" " Millinery Class	15
" " Sewing Class	50
" " Mothers' Meetings	66
Baptisms	20
Conversions	2
Lapsed Catholics brought back to the Church	14
Children got back to Catholic School	7

Number of Residents.—3 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—10.

Terms.—25s. per week.

(27) ST. HELEN'S HOUSE,
91 and 93 The Grove, Stratford, London, E.

Founded in 1896 by the Duchess of Albany as a branch of St. Margaret's House, Bethnal Green.

Character.—Distinctly religious (Church of England).

Branches of Work.—(a) Under the Clergy of the neighbouring parishes : District Visiting and Care of the Sick ; Sunday School Teaching ; Mothers' Meetings ; Guilds ; Clubs ; (b) under the Committees of certain Social Organisations, as the Charity Organisation Society, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, the Invalid Children's Aid Association, etc.

Number of Residents.—12 women (on an average for seven years).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—17.

Terms.—£1 to £1, 10s. per week.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—St. Helen's House was founded to help Trinity College (Oxford) Mission, and was originally a branch of St. Margaret's House, Bethnal Green. To-day the Settlement is independent, but still places its residents at the disposal of Trinity College Mission.

(28) ST. HILDA'S EAST,¹

THE INCORPORATED CHELTENHAM LADIES' COLLEGE
GUILD SETTLEMENT IN LONDON,

3 Old Nichol Street, Bethnal Green, London, E.

Founded in 1889 by members of Cheltenham Ladies' College.

Character.—Distinctly religious (Church of England). The work is partly parish work.

Branches of Work.—Sunday School ; District Visiting ; Clubs for Girls ; Labour Exchange ; Lectures ; Work for the Children's Country Holiday Fund.

Number of Residents.—16 women (none for less than a year).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—12.

¹ Pp. 108, 113, 125.

(29) ST. MARGARET'S HOUSE ¹

(WOMEN'S BRANCH OF OXFORD HOUSE),

21 Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, London, E.

Founded in 1889.

Character.—The Settlement was founded by a Committee of Oxford and London Ladies, "to provide a centre in Bethnal Green, at which ladies can reside for Religious, Social, and Educational work among the women and girls of St. Andrew's, and of the surrounding poor parishes".

Branches of Work.—(a) Under the Clergy: District Visiting; Sunday Schools; Mothers' Meetings; Clubs; Classes; (b) Support of other Institutions such as the Charity Organisation Society; (c) Work of Residents as School Managers, in Care Committees, etc.; (d) Independent Settlement work; Club for Girls; Gymnastics; Cooking and Sewing Lessons.

Number of Residents.—25 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—10.

Terms.—20s. to 25s. per week.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—The Settlement takes its name from St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, an English Princess, "who introduced a higher form of Christianity, a refined culture and a more practical charity into a country, which was not wholly without knowledge of better conditions, but was cut off by circumstances from social intercourse with those who lived in a higher state of development".

(30) ST. MILDRED'S HOUSE ²

(IN CONNECTION WITH ST. MARGARET'S HOUSE),

Millwall, Isle of Dogs, London, E.

Founded in 1897.

Character.—As St. Margaret's House.

Branches of Work.—Parochial: District Visiting; Sunday-school Teaching; Bible Classes; Mother's

¹ P. 103.² P. 103.

Meetings; Band of Hope; King's Messengers; Missionary Working Party. Non-parochial: Children's Care Committees; Health Visiting; Workhouse Visiting and Brabazon Employment Scheme; Boys' and Girls' Clubs and Classes; Charity Organisation Society; Invalid Children's Aid Association; Children's Country Holiday Fund, School Management; Society for the Relief of Distress; Manager of Special School for Deficient Children; Visits to Factories.

Number of Residents.—10 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—13.

Terms.—£1 to £1, 15s. per week.

(31) ST. PATRICK'S CLUB,¹

5 Pier Head, Wapping, London, E.

Founded in 1909.

Character.—The Club is Roman Catholic.

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Boys and Young Men.

Number of Residents.—4 men.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—1.

Terms.—30s. per week.

(32) TOYNBEE HALL,²

28 Commercial Street, Whitechapel, London, E.

Founded in 1884 at the instigation of Canon Barnett, by members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Character.—Strict neutrality in political and religious questions. The chief interest lies less in work for individuals than in the study of social problems, and in the attempt at their solution on the lines of legislation and administration.

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Men and Boys, for Factory Girls, for Crippled Children; Evening Classes; University Extension Lectures; Tutorial Classes; Debates; Concerts; Scientific Associations; Poor Man's Lawyer; Scout Troop; Ambulance Brigade; Workman's

¹ P. 113.

² See Part II.

Travelling Club ; Library, etc. Active participation in Local Administration as well as in the work of social Institutions, such as the Charity Organisation Society, the Stepney Council of Public Welfare, etc.

Number of Residents.—20 men.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 200.

Terms.—26s. to 38s. per week.

(33) TRINITY SETTLEMENT,¹

60 Romford Road, Stratford, London, E.

Foundation of the Mission, 1887 ; of the House for laymen, 1899.

Character.—Religious (Church of England), yet the Settlement differs markedly from a pure Mission in this, that two Mission Clergy live in one house, in another the laymen, who, as a rule, are not students of divinity.

Branches of Work.—A system of Clubs for Men and Boys.

Number of Residents.—5 men (on an average for two years).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—2.

Terms.—30s. per week.

(34) UNITED GIRLS' SCHOOLS SETTLEMENT,²

19 Peckham Road, Camberwell, London, S.E.

Founded in 1906.

Character.—The Settlement is a branch of the United Girls' Schools Mission. "The object of the Mission is to bring brightness and hope into dark, monotonous, and often almost hopeless lives and homes ; to help the men and women to realise that they are children of God, the Great Father, and not uncared-for straws on life's ocean ; to plant and work a Mission which shall be the centre of increasing 'sweetness and light' and health in its widest sense to all round. The spirit of its Methods is : To set forth by deed and word a Christianity that is bright and social—that touches and includes men's bodies

¹ P. 113.

² Pp. 108, 113, 125.

and minds as well as their souls ; that concerns week-days as much as Sundays, home and home-life as well as Church and Church-going, work and play as well as ' worship '—that looks upon everything as ' religious ', and nothing as merely ' secular ', and that aims at making ' the Kingdom of Heaven ' begin here upon earth " (from the First Report).

" As its primary object the Settlement desires to provide a centre where the Old Girls can offer their personal services, and seek the necessary knowledge which will fit them to help their poor neighbours ".

Branches of Work.—Bible Classes ; Clubs for Women, Girls, and Boys ; work among mentally backward Children ; work in connection with other Institutions, such as the Charity Organisation, the Invalid Children's Aid Association, the Children's Country Holiday Fund, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Juvenile Advisory Committee of the Labour Exchange, etc.

Number of Residents.—14 women (usually for two years).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—50.

Terms.—For members of Old Girls' Associations 50 guineas per annum, to be paid quarterly in advance, or 25s. a week for shorter periods than three months. For those outside the schools 60 guineas per annum, to be paid quarterly in advance, or 28s. a week for shorter periods than three months. Students pay 10 guineas extra, besides 12 guineas to the School of Economics for lectures for the whole year's course.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—Great stress is laid on systematic training of social workers in connection with the School of Economics.

(35) WELLINGTON COLLEGE MISSION,¹
179 East Street, Walworth, London, S.E.

Founded in 1885.

Character.—Type of a Church of England Mission with lay Residents.

Branches of Work.—Beside purely religious work, Clubs for Men, Boys, and Girls; Guilds for Children (under 18); Mothers' Meetings; Men's Meetings.

Number of Residents.—8 (4 men, including 2 clergymen; 4 women, including a trained nurse).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—A varying small number.

(36) WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT, SOUTHWARK,¹
44-46 Nelson Square, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.

Founded in 1887 by the Women's Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge.

Character.—The aim of the Settlement is, "to promote the welfare of the people of the poorer districts of London, and especially of the women and children, by devising and promoting schemes which tend to elevate them physically, intellectually, or morally, and by giving them additional opportunities for education and recreation".—The Settlement has no religious tendency.

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Boys and Girls; Labour Exchange for Boys and Girls on leaving school; work in connection with the Children's Country Holiday Fund, the Southwark Health Society, the Invalid Children's Aid Association, etc.—Training of social workers in connection with the School of Economics.

Number of Residents.—16 women (about 50 per cent. remain from six to eight years, the rest for a shorter time).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—50 to 60.

Terms.—£50 to £60 per year, 25s. per week; for those attending the training course, £72, 12s. per year, including all lecture fees.

¹ Pp. 117, 124.

MANCHESTER

(37) MANCHESTER ART MUSEUM AND UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT,¹*Ancoats Hall, Every Street, Manchester*

Founded in 1895 by Owens College, Manchester.

Character.—No religious tendency.

Branches of Work.—Crèches ; Clubs for Girls ; Entertainment Evenings and Organised Games for Children ; Reading to the Blind ; Popular Concerts ; Dancing Entertainments ; Regular Registration of the Unemployed of the District ; Visiting of the Sick ; Poor Man's Lawyer ; Debates ; Dramatic Performances ; Lectures.

The Care of Cripples forms a special branch of the Settlement work (Santa Fina Branch). The aims and methods are the following :—

“(1) The formation and maintenance of a complete list with detailed information of the crippled and disabled persons in the Settlement district.

“(2) The provision, as far as possible, for each one of the cripples of a friend, who shall give personal service, doing and getting done everything that experience, common sense, and kindness may suggest.

“(3) To endeavour, in co-operation with other societies and individuals working in the neighbourhood, or concerned with the lives of the cripples and their families, to obtain for these people medical or surgical treatment, country or fresh-air treatment, instruments, nourishing food, clothing, education, and suitable employment.

“(4) A number of bath chairs, spinal carriages, and mail carts are kept at the Museum and lent to suitable cases.

“(5) Amusement and variety are provided by monthly parties, in winter at the Museum, in summer in suburban gardens”.

Number of Residents.—10 (5 men and 5 women). Average stay, one year.

¹ Pp. 117, 118, 120.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—90.

Terms.—£1, 1s. per week.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—The Settlement work chiefly lies in the hands of the non-resident workers, who are recruited from the lower middle-class.

MIDDLESBOROUGH

(38) CONGREGATIONAL WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT,

132 Newport Road, Middlesborough

Founded in 1892.

Character.—The Settlement was founded by the "Yorkshire Congregational Union" and rests on a religious basis; but the social work stands in the foreground.

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Women and Girls; Games for Children; Work among Cripples; Bible Classes; Prayer Meetings; Social Entertainments.

Number of Residents.—2 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—30.

Terms.—18s. per week.

STOKE-ON-TRENT

(39) WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT,

Fenton House, Stoke-on-Trent

Founded in 1897 by the Lord Bishop of Lichfield.

Character.—"The Settlement is intended to provide a residence for a limited number of women who desire to gain experience of Church work in the Pottery Parishes under the direction of the Incumbent, and as a centre with which women workers may be associated".

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Boys and Girls; Factory Girls' Classes; Guilds; Bible Classes for Women and Girls; Care of Crippled Children; District and Sick

Visiting ; Care of Altar Linen ; Provident Club Collecting ; Mothers' Union ; Bands of Hope and Temperance Work.

Number of Residents.—11 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—14.

Terms.—Board, 15s. weekly for Residents ; £1, 1s. for occasional visitors.

SCOTLAND

DUNDEE

(40) GREY LODGE (WOMEN'S SETTLEMENT)

No information was to be obtained.

EDINBURGH

(41) NEW COLLEGE SETTLEMENT,¹

48-52 Pleasance, Edinburgh

Founded in 1889 under the auspices of the New College Missionary Society by students of the Theological College (Free Church of Scotland).

Character.—" The Settlement is in some ways different from such Settlements as Toynbee Hall in that it is the work of a Theological College, and has a twofold object :—

" (1) The neighbouring and helping of the people in the densely populated district where it is situated ; and

" (2) The training of the students for the ministry in various forms of social work " (from a letter of the Warden, Rev. J. Harry Miller).

Branches of Work.—" We make a strong effort in two directions specially—(1) Teaching, and (2) Visitation. Our teaching comprises the attempt by Lectures, Discussions, and Readings, and the reading aloud of useful books ; by, on the women's side, the teaching of Hygiene, House Management, Nursing, Cutting-out, and Sewing,

¹ Pp. 109, 113, 114.

to touch the different sides of the lives of those who come about us, and on Sundays only we have classes for religious teaching. Our visitation is undertaken by the 7 men in residence and by other students of the College, who voluntarily give their services for this and other departments of our work. There are about 60 men in the College, and between 40 and 50 of these take part in our Settlement work. We divide up the whole district round us, and have it systematically visited from house to house by the students. Each student has about 15 to 20 families to visit. Those that are definitely connected with other institutions, such as Churches or Clubs, we do not revisit, but confine ourselves to those who seem to need our friendly interest. This results in each student having about five or six families who are on the border-line of poverty, and his duty is to visit these families at least once a fortnight, to become a friend of them, to gather information about their work, wages, rent, health, and habits, but in no case to give any money. By these two lines of effort we are gathering information which is invaluable, and we keep a careful record of every family that we touch. The Settlement has so distinct a place in the life of the district that we find that new students visiting, as soon as they say that they are from the New College Settlement, are sure of a ready welcome in the houses of the people" (from a letter of the Rev. J. Harry Miller).

Number of Residents.—7 men.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—About 40.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—The time of study lasts every year from the middle of October to the end of March, and most of the Residents at the end of this period finally leave the Settlement. During the long summer vacation many of the students go to Germany or Canada, to mission stations of the Presbyterian Church, or to mission stations in the Northern and Western Highlands of Scotland. Thus by far the greatest amount of Settlement work is done in the winter, while in the summer the burden rests almost entirely on the shoulders of the Warden of the Settlement. Sometimes during this period students of other faculties are received. Formerly

students were accustomed to return to the Settlement when studies began, while now it is preferred always to take in new ones in order to allow as many as possible to enjoy this opportunity of training. (The students of the College go through a four years' post-graduate course, and thus already have their first examination behind them. Young students would hardly be sufficiently developed for the work sketched above.)

The following passage in the Annual Report, 1910-1911, describes the importance of the Settlement for the College :—

“Not the least important part of the work of the Settlement is its reflex influence upon the College. It is more clear than ever that there is here an unequalled opportunity for practical training for the holy ministry. At every turn problems both difficult and serious are met, and the need of theoretical instruction upon home mission methods becomes plain. With this in view a Reading Circle is carried on during the Summer Session; this year we are studying the problems of lads' life in our great cities; while the fact that almost all the students in the College took some share in the work last winter tells how real a hold the Settlement has upon the College itself. Men gain practical experience here. They learn by listening to the talk in the home and in the club what subjects are moving in the minds of the people; they find their own limitations, and appreciate more truly the difficulty and the variety of the Christian ministry, while their preaching and speaking gains point and incision through their contact with the men and lads of the district”.

(42) UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT,

Surgeon Square, Infirmary Street, Edinburgh

Founded in 1905 by the Edinburgh University Settlement Association.

Character.—The Settlement has no religious tendency; it desires to be a University Settlement, *i.e.* to give an

opportunity to members of the University of active expression of their social interests.

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Men, Women, and Girls ; Discussion Evenings ; Athletics and Games ; Summer Excursions ; Social Gatherings ; Dramatic Performances ; Play Hours for Children.

Number of Residents.—7 men (for two to three years).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—32.

GLASGOW

(43) QUEEN MARGARET SETTLEMENT,¹

77 Port Street, Anderston, Glasgow

Founded in 1897 by "Queen Margaret College Students' Union" (University of Glasgow).

Character.—The aim of the "Queen Margaret College Settlement Association" is, "to promote the welfare of the poorer people, chiefly of the women and children in a district or districts of Glasgow, working as far as possible in co-operation with, and on the lines of, the Charity Organisation Society, Glasgow".

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Girls ; Play Hours for Children ; Work among Sick Children (establishment of Convalescent Homes, etc.) ; Savings Bank ; Work in connection with the Charity Organisation Society ; Training of Social Workers.

Number of Residents.—6 women (as a rule for several years).

Number of Non-resident Workers.—150.

Terms.—For Residents, £1, 1s. ; for temporary helpers, £1, 5s. per week.

(44) GLASGOW UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' SETTLEMENT,²

10 Possil Road, Garscube Cross, Glasgow

Founded in 1889 by students of the University of Glasgow under the auspices of the "University Missionary

¹ P. 125.

² Pp. 7, 109, 113.

Society", "Christian Association", and "Total Abstinence Society".

Character.—The Residents of the Settlement originally worked hand in hand with the University Missionary Society, after the removal of which to another part of the city in 1895 they took over its work, without thereby having adopted the character of a Mission: the religious work does not occupy the foremost place.

Branches of Work.—Boys' Brigade; Bible Classes; Religious Instruction for Men; Sunday Evening Services; Reading Circles; Instruction in Singing, Cooking, Needlework; Public Library; Free Dispensary; Visits of the Sick; Clubs for Men, Boys, and Girls; Propaganda for the Abstinence Movement; Savings Bank; Poor Man's Lawyer; Inquiry Office.

Number of Residents.—12 men.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—20.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—The Residents are, as a rule, students. They stay on an average three to five years.

IRELAND

BELFAST

(45) WOMEN WORKERS' SETTLEMENT,¹

55 and 61 Crumlin Road, Belfast

Founded in 1902.

Character.—The Settlement was founded "to provide a residence and centre for ladies who are desirous of helping in the work of the Church of Ireland in the city of Belfast, and to afford a place of training for those who may ultimately engage in work elsewhere". Supreme control rests with the Bishop. The ladies place themselves at the disposal of the parish clergy at their request.

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Girls and Boys; Evening Classes for Girls; Athletics; Play Hours; "Girls' Friendly Society"; Mothers' Union; Support of the

Temperance Movement ; Savings Bank ; District Visiting.

Number of Residents.—10 women.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—2.

For the sake of completeness the following should be mentioned :—

THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT IN CARDIFF,
Walker Road, East Moors, Cardiff

Founded in 1901 by the “ Welsh University Association ”.

Character.—No religious tendency. The same aims as in all University Settlements.

Branches of Work.—Clubs for Women and Girls, Men and Boys ; Savings Bank ; Discussion Evenings for Women ; Instruction for Girls in Cooking, Needlework, Singing, Drawing, etc. ; Concerts ; Social Gatherings.

SPECIAL REMARKS.—The University Settlement in Cardiff is only conditionally to be reckoned as a Settlement, since it has no accommodation for Residents. Yet always several of its members (in 1911, 3 women) live in the district.

Number of Non-resident Workers.—20.

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